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CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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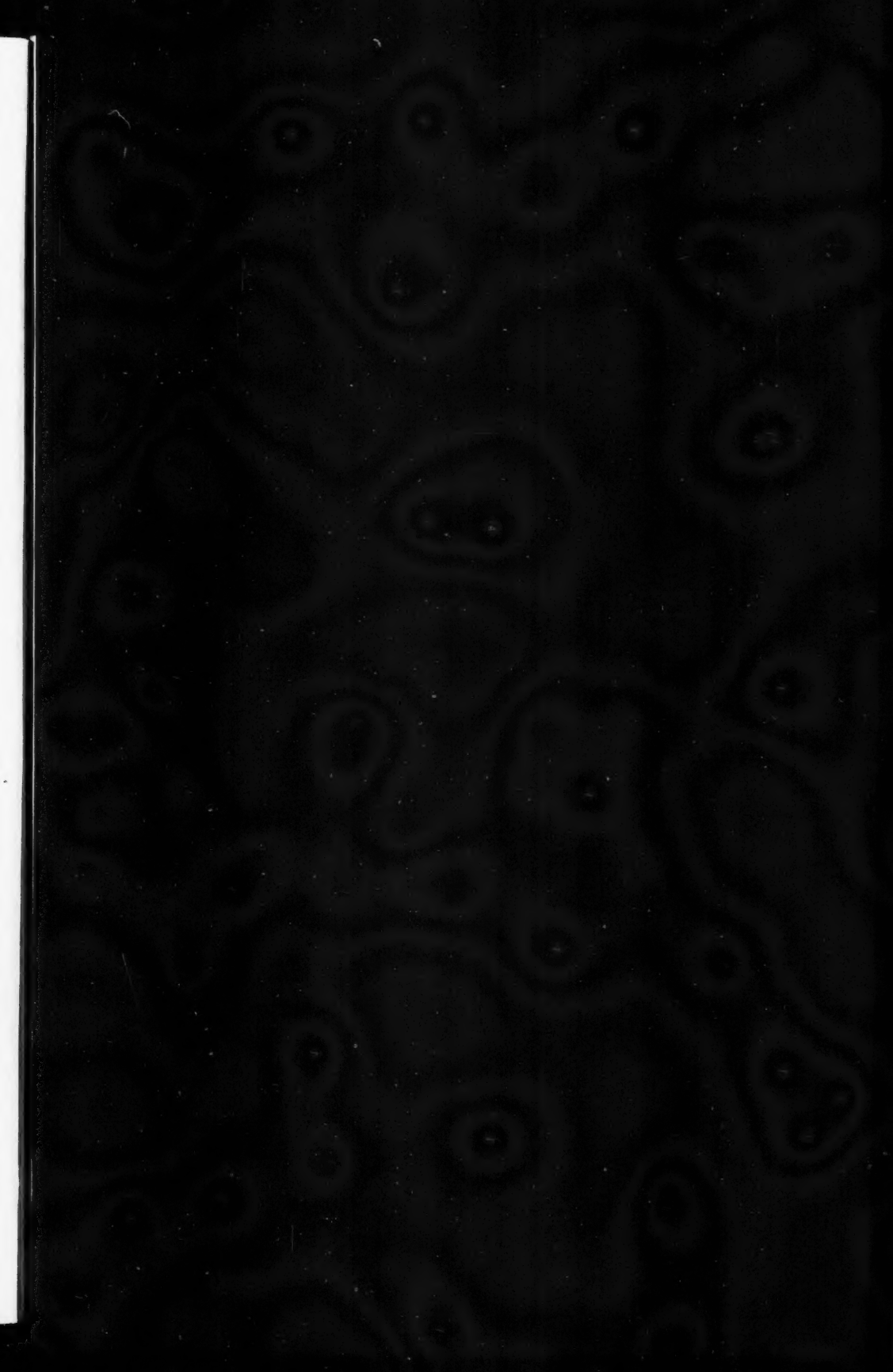
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CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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HORACE CARMEN 1. 7

J. P. ELDER

MISGIVINGS about how the sections of this ode are interconnected have long beset students of Horace, and these misgivings in turn have naturally affected the total interpretation of the poem.¹ The extreme position was put forth with disapproval as early as the second century by Porphyrio, who doubtless was quoting even earlier commentators, when he noted on line 15: *hanc oden quidam putant aliam esse, sed eadem est; nam et hic ad Plancum loquitur, in cuius honore et in superiore parte Tibur laudavit*. And, it must be admitted, lines 1-14 and 15-32 do indeed appear in some manuscripts as separate poems. But even though one may not agree with Porphyrio that the mention of Tibur in lines 13 and 21 is a completely satisfactory link, and although one may hence conclude that this repetition is no very strong argument for the unity of lines 1-32, on the other hand an examination of lines 1-14 and then of 15-32 by themselves will probably persuade no critic that either section could stand independently as a separate ode (*quorum neutri nec caput nec pedem esse video*: Meineke).

Nevertheless, many a modern editor, although not going so far as those whom

Porphyrio mentioned, has felt sufficiently uneasy about the interrelationship of the sections so that the result has been considerable uncertainty and confusion. Moore, for example, notes on line 15 that "The only connection between the preceding and that which follows is *Tiburis umbra tui*, . . . It must be acknowledged that the connection is very slight. We may have here in reality a combination of two 'fragments' which Horace never completed."² The same editor, reaching line 21, comments: "Again the connection with the preceding is slight, . . ." By implication, then, we seem to be dealing with three sections, lines 1-14, 15-21, and 21-32; these, for convenience, I shall call sections A, B, and C. The connection between A and B is generally held to be the fairly tenuous one adduced by Porphyrio: the mention of Tibur in lines 13 and 21 (considered to be strengthened by the fact that Plancus was born in Tibur).³ The connection between B and C, in turn, is said to be the emphasis upon the importance of wine as a releaser (ll. 19, 22, and 31).

These links are not especially strong in themselves. More serious is the fact that none is supplied for relating A to C, and thus a general haziness hovers

over most interpretations of the work as a whole.

At once it must be added that Horace's usual method of procedure in his lyrics is a highly progressive one, which seems to have become increasingly condensed and complex as his art matured.⁴ Idea swiftly follows upon idea, as image upon image, and from this particular poetic temperament, with its own brand of ready fancy and imagination⁵ and its own standards of composition, we should expect neither the directness nor quality of single texture characteristic of, say, Catullus' shorter poems, nor the digressive fashion of a Lucretius, nor again the lingering repetition of themes such as we find in Virgil. Hence, despite Suetonius' amiable judgment,⁶ the concatenation of thought in Horace is by no means always easy to follow.

Other factors, too, often tend to obscure the central significance of an ode. Thus, one must consider Horace's fondness for a tripartite division,⁷ which is always apt somewhat to obfuscate the poem's over-all unity, or the personal references which must inevitably escape us, although they certainly would have been clear to the author's contemporaries. Such references, too, need occur not only in odes addressed to outstanding public figures,⁸ but also in what may appear to us to be entirely innocent lyrics. And thus a full interpretation may become a downright impossibility.

Despite such qualifications, however, it should be possible for the reader of to-day to grasp the essential point of any ode since, without being banal and trite, one can safely say that it is the ecumenical quality of these lyrics which has kept them alive. It is the business of criticism to attempt to enucleate that central point, and then the poem's total significance, albeit

In poets as true genius is but rare,
True taste as seldom is the critic's share.

The present study somewhat diffidently aims at proposing such an overarching interpretation.

Owing to the tendency to look at this ode as consisting of two or three sections only very loosely joined, most editors have contented themselves with expounding the meaning of the separate parts. As for the meaning of the work as a whole, on only one point is there general agreement, and even here editors falter when connecting this point with the first fourteen lines. This point is the fact that in this ode wine symbolizes sensible and wise relaxation. In this imagistic fashion, befitting the lyric form, Horace has stated a favorite idea which, in the *Satires* or the *Epistles*, would probably have been cast either in direct, possibly philosophical language (e.g., *ratio, sapientia, prudentia*, etc.), or through homely and quaint pictures.⁹ Plancus,¹⁰ says the poet, you should be wise; cease to dwell morosely and fretfully on your troubles (*tristitiam vitaeque labores* [18]), and (by implication) cease to wish you were in Tibur.¹¹ Some day, you will be there; for the nonce, however, learn to relax wherever you are, and explore the present, even as Teucer, facing a grim future, could still admonish his comrades to make the best of the present time and place without thought for the morrow. Thus Plancus' *tristitia* (l. 18) is paralleled by the epithet *tristis* applied to Teucer's friends (l. 24), and Horace's advice is that of Teucer.

The middle section, B (ll. 15-21), then, is clear enough. For here Horace, as is his wont, has stated briefly but directly a main theme;¹² this theme had already been deviously introduced and is reworked figuratively elsewhere in the poem. This theme is:

....., sic tu sapiens finire memento
tristitiam vitaeque labores
molli, Plance, mero, [17-19].

As for the last section, C (ll. 21-32), it is usually said to be merely a concrete example illustrating the above theme. Beyond that, there is no venturing. "The personal application (if any)," comments Shorey, "of the tale to Plancus is as obscure to us as is that of Pindar's myths."¹³ Without taking up the Pindaric challenge, one wonders whether some progress cannot be made in more closely relating the tale of Teucer to the thought of the rest of the poem and to the man to whom the work is addressed. But more on this anon.

More troubling is the oddly detached state in which the first section, A (ll. 1-14), is allowed uneasily to rest. This section, for instance, Pasquali characterizes as "un po' scolastica . . . un po' fredda," whereas "nella seconda parte dell'ode ogni scolasticità scompare, fusa nell'unità del sentimento: dalla descrizione di Tivoli in giù il carme è un capolavoro. Lo stesso non direi della prima parte."¹⁴ All that is usually said of this first section is that it celebrates the charms of Tibur, and Tibur is dear to both Horace and Plancus. Here even less effort is made than in the case of C to bring the section into the general meaning of the entire poem.

In approaching section A, one must first consider the lines in B:

....., seu te fulgentia signis
castra tenent seu densa tenebit
Tiburis umbra tui [19-21].

The contrasting tenses of *tenent* and *tenebit* tell us that Plancus is not now in Rome or Tibur, but away on military service (see n. 11). The *vitae labores*, consequently, at least include the hardships of a soldier's life. The advice which had preceded these lines — that is, the theme of section B quoted above

on pages 2f. — is thus cast in terms of *places*. Learn to relax, says Horace, in whatever place you find the standards have taken you. For actually the place itself is of no great moment; it is your own attitude and outlook that count. As Heinze has pointed out, Horace discreetly implies that the same cares would not leave Plancus even in Tibur, unless he master himself.¹⁵ Put in another way in another ode (2. 16. 21-22):

scandit aeratas vitiosa navis
Cura,

But if one can learn that even life in the field, like the occasionally variable Notus, can unexpectedly bring serenity of mind, then one can adjust himself to any place, for to him belongs the Epicurean ideal of a *laetus in praesens animus*.

In *Carmen* 1. 7, then, Horace is urging in terms of *places* the application of his advice that contentment of spirit comes partly from a relaxed and manly fortitude, just as in other odes he asks that his philosophy be applied in terms of such other factors or conditions of life as, say, *age* or *amount of income* or *high public office* or *nobility of lineage*, etc. For example, much the same advice is given in *Carmen* 1. 4 as in 1. 7, but in the case of the former, the advice is applied to a season, as more fully in 4. 7. And in 1. 9 seasons are equated even more definitely with youth and old age. And the odes admonishing man to learn that contentment does not depend on such factors as wealth or political position or noble descent (any more than it does upon one's being in his Tibur), need no recalling here.

This emphasis upon the unimportance of the *place* in attaining peace of mind, and this insistence upon accepting the present place (and, by implication, not fearing those ahead), may help us to understand the first section. It is

commonly said that this part is devoted to the praise of Tibur. Now Tibur is certainly lauded here, but is that the main point of these fourteen introductory lines? Here, indeed, is an imposing list: Rhodes, Mytilene, Ephesus, Corinth, Thebes, Delphi, Tempe, Athens, Argos, Mycenae, Lacedaemon, and Larissa. All are *places* beloved of the gods and famed in men's high song. Is not Horace here employing, in Alexandrian style, his favorite device of the catalogue, toward the end of which the somewhat shy *me* peeps out? Surely he is not disparaging these places to the greater glory of Tibur! Indeed, the Latin poet is showing, so to speak, the credentials of his craft, and is taking a lineal pride, is he not, in the roll-call of spots made glorious by the Greek masters whom he reveres? The point must be this: the world holds many marvelous places which have appealed before all others to gods and great poets. I myself, Quintus Horatius Flaccus, happen to prefer Tibur (although if I cannot spend my last days there, I shall happily go elsewhere).¹⁶ One should not be blind to the charms which others have found in other places — *Laudabunt alii*. In fine, one should not tie one's happiness to any one place. Instead, one should learn to unbend — *nunc vino pellite curas* — and make the best of the place in which he now chances to find himself. And then one notes not only that the places which Horace has named are famous in Greek verse, but that all were well-known by this time to every educated Roman¹⁷ and must have been familiar to Plancus from his tours of duty in the East. The upshot of Horace's message is succinctly expressed in the line which the poet himself may have remembered from the *Teucer* (of Pacuvius?): *patria est ubicumque est bene*.¹⁸

To turn now to section C, and to waive for the moment the important matter of the date of the composition of the ode, may we not see a more specific connection between this section and section B than the mere theme of the value of wine, and may we not now finally see some connection between this section and section A? It would lie, to my mind, in the emphasis upon *places*. If the point of sections A and B is that the world holds many notable spots, but that the spot itself is not important for one's happiness as compared with one's own relaxed outlook upon life, then is not this carried out with astringent clarity in the Teucer story? For this last section not only stresses the value of wine as a releaser but presents in heroic¹⁹ form the example of a man who could contentedly accept the place where he now was and courageously face the prospect before him. Horace, I take it, is not so insensitive as to imply that Plancus need be happy where he now is. Rather, the poet asks him to develop a fortitude in accepting the present place. The "accepting" is symbolized by the wine-motive. As for happiness and better days, they will come, predicts the poet, in a later time and another place (Tibur). Hence the point of the Teucer story. For Teucer was doubtless hardly happy in his present place and situation, any more than Plancus himself in his. Yet Teucer could bravely accept the present and relax, and he could bravely face the next day's voyage. Thus the future *tenebit* (referring to Plancus, l. 20) is paralleled by Teucer's *cras* of the noble last line:

cras ingens iterabimus aequor,
and hence Horace, the *vates*, the *Musarum sacerdos*, the spokesman of Apollo, is for Plancus the *certus Apollo* (l. 28) whom Teucer had trusted.

Thus, to sum up, section C makes section B more intelligible by applying, in the example of Teucer, the admonitions of section B to the specific case of one who could relax in a somewhat difficult and uncomfortable position and could confidently face sailing off to a place of which he was so sure that he could call it *ambiguam*. Sections B and C, in turn, illumine the meaning of section A — that the world holds many fair *places* — and show that the place is not, after all, important for the inner contentment from which happiness is ultimately born. To understand the poet's intent, then, means that one must grasp the dramatic element of suspense here, and work backward from C to B, and from B to A.

If one could fix the date of the poem, one could go on to apply its contents, perhaps, to a specific time and situation in Plancus' highly complex and checkered career, and thus comprehend the immediate relevancy of the total structure of the ode. Then we might know all that lay behind the tantalizing *tristitiam*. In any such search, the first question to be put is Heinze's: At what time could Horace have addressed such a fairly personal ode to a man not only his senior but of such prestige?

The usual view is that the ode was written while Plancus was on active duty (*seu te fulgentia signis / castra tenent*: 19–20). This seems correct. Since Plancus came over to Octavian around the middle of 32 B.C., and since it is not easy to imagine how Horace would have come to know him before the last judicious switch of this pathological turncoat (*morbo proditor*: Vell. Pat. 2. 83. 1), it is generally assumed that the ode was written either just before or after Actium.²⁰ If after, then Plancus was engaged either in "mopping-up operations" in the East or elsewhere on

routine duty. The "shortly after Actium" seems necessary, unless indeed Plancus was out on only routine service, because we know of no military activities on his part after Actium. Fitting fairly well with this date was Heinze's conclusion on stylistic grounds that the ode was an early one.²¹

Several scholars have recently challenged this traditional dating (see n. 1 and 20), of whom Hanslik, perhaps, is the most persuasive. He raises these points: there is no evidence that Plancus served in the army after Actium;²² would Plancus have been likely, amid service, to write back to Maecenas or to a member of his circle a letter of morose complaint;²³ would Horace advise one of Octavian's generals in the field to drink and relax?²⁴ Hanslik, consequently, concluded that the ode was composed before Actium. But how would Horace, in those years, have come to know this distinguished figure? From 40 B.C. on, Plancus was Antony's governor in Asia, and around five years later became his legate in Syria. The answer, proposes Hanslik, must be that Plancus accompanied Antony to the conference at Tarentum in 37 B.C. and that Horace, who had earlier gone down to Brundisium with Maecenas,²⁵ came to know him in this period. Two years later, suggests Hanslik, when the estrangement between Antony and Octavia was further widened and Cleopatra's influence over the former was clearly increasing, Horace wrote this ode to comfort his disturbed friend.

There is nothing inherently impossible in all of this — at least not if we feel sure about the date of *Satire* 1. 5. No iron curtain divided friends on different sides in the thirties. Further, the *tenebit* (l. 20) would mean that in 35 B.C. Plancus almost literally could not come home. His chances, one might

add, were little better in this respect than were Teucer's.

But this proposed date of 35 B.C. seems less satisfactory, on the whole, than a date right after Actium. Against Hanslik it must be said that none of his objections raises serious difficulties and, while it is quite possible that Horace and Plancus met as he imagines, it is surely easier to account for their meeting after Plancus had come over to Octavian's side. Moreover, Hanslik must assume, I take it, that the *tristitia* is to be explained as Plancus' growing concern over the break between Antony and Octavia and his growing disgust with Cleopatra. But, even if we allow for otherwise undetected scruples in Plancus, the memorable pictures of him preserved in the pages of ancient writers — especially in those of Velleius — will hardly persuade one, with allowances courteously made for exaggeration, that Plancus possessed any such moral point of view. (Indeed, such a moral disgust does not strike one as typical of the Roman of this age.) Certainly his last *Übertritt* was the result of hard-headed calculation about the ultimate victor.

On the other hand, what might have been the cause of his *tristitia* right after Actium? May it not have been that Octavian was purposely keeping Plancus out in the field? Not only would the man merit such chastisement — an understatement — but men like him who turned so easily might not have been the right sort to have back in Rome in the days after the victory.²⁶ In such a case, Plancus, concerned over his past record and worried about his political future, and always one to use machinery to better his lot, may have written to Maecenas or to one of his circle to urge intervention in his behalf. Horace's ode would then be the

reply, but a reply, I take it, of some subtlety.

It is surely noteworthy, as Verrall and Sellar emphasized,²⁷ that many of the finest odes are addressed to men of a questionable past, or at least of a possibly suspect future. One thinks of Sestius and Messalla, honorable and devoted partisans of Brutus; of Sallust, whose use of his wealth seems not to have been the most commendable; of Pollio, resolute neutral between Antony and Octavian; of Dellius, versatile *desultor bellorum civilium*; of Licinius Murena, whose conduct for some years before his final coup had been flagrantly outrageous.²⁸ These odes are essentially admonitory pieces. When Horace addresses these men — and the vocative in Horace is too often dismissed as unimportant — it is not too much, I believe, to assume that such poems, far from being merely innocent vehicles for moral or genial commonplaces, contain some tactfully concealed advice which the poet meant to be taken personally. On this view, these odes would be delicate reminders to distinguished men, some of whom had fought on the same side with Horace at Philippi, to lend their material and moral resources to the support of the new order and its policies. Horace himself, I take it, is speaking more as a patriotic citizen than as an imperialist. He is not so much applauding the principate as he is realistically accepting it, and urging others to do likewise. His acceptance, then, may be a bit wistful, but is certainly sincere, and the Roman odes are not, *pace* some modern critics, hypocritical court poems but rather a reflection of the serious concern which this thoughtful observer of men and events entertained over contemporary ethics and their impact on the state's welfare. Few contemporary writers, then, would

have been in a better position than Horace to exhort such outstanding figures as Sestius, Messalla, Dellius, Pollio, Sallust, and Plancus to co-operate with the new regime, whether the co-operation should be political, financial, or moral.

When the poet advises Plancus not to pin his happiness fretfully on a place, but instead to learn to relax wherever he is and develop an inner attitude of peace and contentment, may he not be delicately saying: in time you, too, will come back to Italy, to your Tibur (*tenebit / Tiburis umbra tui: 20-21*);²⁹ meanwhile enjoy life where you are, and when you do return, there must be this peace of mind, this acceptance, and no more feverish hunting for possibly victorious leaders, and no more political machinations. Rather, you must peacefully acquiesce in the new political order — a strikingly Roman adaptation of Epicureanism — and lend your full support to its maintenance.

Finally, a word on the position of the ode in the collection. This one has a plainly prominent position, coming after those to Maecenas, Augustus, Virgil, Sestius (*consul suffectus* of the year of publication), and Agrippa. Apart from the fact that Horace may have admired his creation and wished an outstanding place for it, this prominence may be owing not only to the realization that Plancus, whether he took Horace's advice or his own, had indeed become a model supporter of imperial policies, had splendidly co-operated in restoring the temple of Saturn,³⁰ and had had the lucky stroke of wit to propose for Octavian in 27 B.C. the title *Augustus*, but also its position may acknowledge that in the year of the publication of the three books,³¹ Plancus was the most active and prominent senior ex-consul still alive.³²

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

NOTES

1. For the principal literature on this ode beyond that cited in Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* (Munich, 1935), II, 128 (hereafter referred to as Schanz), see: P. Kucharsky, *LF*, LXII (1935), 487-88 (in Czech; see French summary at end of *LF*, p. 524, that "les mots *Tiburis tui* — significant 'de cette ville, qui t'est aussi chère qu'à moi Tibur.'"); R. Hanslik, "Zu Horaz Od. I 7," *PhilWoch*, LVIII (1938), 670-72; W. Riedel, "Zu Horaz, Carm. I 7," *PhilWoch*, LXII (1942), 575; C. F. Kumaniecki, "De Horatii carmine ad Plancum (Hor. Carm. I 7)," *Eos*, XLII (1947), 5-23 (who argues that Horace wishes in this ode to show that the charges against Plancus [see n. 26 below] were as empty as those against Teucer, and who holds that the poem was written between 40-35 B.C.).

2. C. H. Moore, *Horace Odes and Epodes* (New York, 1902), p. 79, who also (p. 133) makes the same assumption about *Carm.* 1. 28, similarly thought to be an early work (see n. 21 below). Moore might have added to Porphyrio's link the additional one of *uda* in ll. 13 and 22; cf. *Carm.* 3. 29. 6.

3. Porphyrio *ad v.* 15.

4. If one may judge from such odes as 3. 2 and 4. The transitions at l. 25 in the first and at 37 in the second, while understandable with effort, are certainly abrupt. In the case of the first, the connecting idea is probably something like "They also serve who hold their tongues," while in the case of the second, effected through the anaphoric *vester* (21), *vestris* (25), and *vos* (29 and 37), one has to understand that in the preceding ll. 9-36 Horace indulges in extensive autobiography of a fanciful sort to confirm his right as a poet — a *vates*, a *Musarum sacerdos*

— to enunciate his message to the people like the poets of old (cf. A. Sperduti, "The Divine Nature of Poetry in Antiquity," *TAPA*, LXXXI [1950], 239). Then, too, the geographical references in the preceding strophe (ll. 33-36) also prepare the way for the mention of Caesar (l. 37); cf. Prop. 2. 10. 11ff.

5. The importance of fantasy and imagination in the Horatian lyric needs emphasizing, to counterbalance the too often held view that this poet generally proceeded in a coldly intellectual and indifferently mechanical fashion. Thus, in the case of this ode, possibly fancy, the music of the sounds, and the swing of the meter are in part at least responsible for the extended list of names and epithets in the first fourteen lines, although one might propose that here Horace is also pungently referring to themes on which poetasters of his own day were writing (cf. *undique*, l. 7).

6. *Vita Hor.*, *ad fin.*; said, to be sure, anent a prose letter.

7. See G. Reinecke, *De tripartista carminum Horatianorum structura* (Diss., Berlin, 1929), and in general on structure in the *Odes*, see Kumaniecki (cited in n. 1), pp. 7-13.

8. I assume that Horace was personally acquainted, to some degree, with these men, and that the poems are not merely "open letters."

9. See W. Will, *Horaz u. d. awg. Kultur* (Basel, 1948), p. 222. Heinze (Kiessling-Heinze, *Oden u. Epoden* [7th ed., 1930], hereafter cited as Heinze), *ad v.* 15, compares *Epist.* 1. 11. On the general matter of symbolism in the *Odes*, see the interesting remarks of F. Solmsen, "Horace's First Roman Ode," *AJP*, LXVIII (1947), 341-44.

10. The usual assumption is made here, viz. that this is the Plancus who was the son of Cicero's acquaintance, served under Caesar in Gaul and in the Civil Wars, left the senatorial side to join Antony's, became consul in 42 B.C., Antony's governor in Asia from 40 on, in Syria ca. 35, and just before Actium again turned sides to join Octavian. On him see *RE*, XVI (1935), 545-51. The position of the ode (see text p. 7) makes it impossible to believe that this Plancus was a minor, unknown member of the family living at Tibur; see Heinze, *ad v.* 39.

11. Unless one assume with A. Reifferscheid, *Ind. lect.* (Breslau, 1879), p. 4, that Plancus so much despaired of being restored to Octavian's favor that he was meditating voluntary exile from Italy. T. E. Page, *Q. Horatii Flacci Carm. Libri IV* (London, 1950), p. 152, holds a somewhat similar view. The idea that this ode is anything like an invitation to Plancus to come to Tibur is rightly rejected as unthinkable by Heinze, *ad v.* 15.

12. The "main theme" is usually stated in the middle or toward the end of an ode; on the practice of Catullus and some English poets in this respect, see my "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry," *HSCP*, LX (1951), 123f.

13. Shorey-Laing, *Horace Odes and Epodes* (Boston, 1923), p. 168.

14. G. Pasquali, *Orazio Lirico* (Florence, 1920), pp. 728f.

15. Heinze *ad v.* 15.

16. See *Carm.* 2. 6. 9-12.

17. Cf. Prop. 3. 22.

18. Cic., *Tusc.* 5. 108; Ribbeck, *TRF³*, inc. 40, p. 287.

19. *Populea corona* (l. 23) suggests both Hercules, the heroic traveller, and perhaps, too, the fact that he was the chief divinity worshipped at Tibur. It must be added, to be sure, that when Horace does indulge, as I believe he does at times, in heroic flights, there is always present a note of slight self-consciousness.

20. Heinze (6th ed., 1917), p. 62, suggests that Plancus "vielleicht in Augustus Gefolge am spanischen Feldzuge teilnahm" (27-25 B.C.); see also Riedel (cited in n. 1). But in his 7th ed. (1930), pp. 38f., Heinze merely calls the ode one of the earliest (see n. 21). Pasquali (cited in n. 14), p. 730, assigns it to just before or just after Actium. Hanslik (cited in n. 1) assigns it to 35 B.C.; see text above, p. 5. Kumaniecki (cited in n. 1) puts it as early as from 40-35 B.C. At all events, the often repeated statement that verses 26-30 were hardly written before 29 B.C. (since they show an acquaintance with Virg., *Aen.* 1. 195ff.) must be rejected as an example of injudicious dogmatism in this still largely uninvestigated matter of dating the odes. If one poet did borrow from the other (rather than going back independently to *Od.* 12. 208 or to Naevius [cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 1. 198]), more likely it was Virgil who was the borrower.

21. He compares, pp. 38-39, the motive at the close of *Carm.* 1. 7 with that at the close of *Epod.* 13 (with whose theme cf. that of *Carm.* 1. 9, also doubtless an early product), and notes that elsewhere Horace employs the Alemanian strophe only in *Epod.* 12 and *Carm.* 1. 28. (But since Horace was displaying his metrical virtuosity in the first nine odes, four of which are in couplets, this fact may perhaps not be an entirely convincing point.) Similarly Pasquali (cited in n. 14), pp. 712-13 and 721, views l. 4 and 7 and 28 as amongst the earliest odes. (But if, as seems likely, l. 4 be really so early, it warns us to be cautious in using "rough" or "smooth" transitions as a criterion for dating.) The earliest ode to be fairly surely dated would seem to be l. 37. As for the time during which Horace was composing the odes of the first three books, Schanz (cited in n. 1), II, 127, holds for the usual 30-23 B.C. But cf. the strong arguments of A.

Kappelmacher, "Der Werdegang des Lyrikers Horaz," *WS*, XXXXIII (1922-23), 44-61, for a date earlier than 30.

22. But if he played no signal role, or actually was on mere routine service, this would not be surprising.

23. What the ancient sources tell us of Plancus (see n. 10) would tend to persuade one that this man was not at all above such obvious hints for his own welfare.

24. Quite possibly, since this would merely be a poetic way of telling Plancus not to fret; see above p. 2.

25. *Sat.* 1. 5; but the uncertainty about the dates thus involved does not easily persuade one to Hanslik's hypothesis.

26. Such a political opportunist might be justly suspect. Then, too, his unpopularity had been notable (cf. Vell. Pat. 2. 67. 4 for the soldiers' jest about Plancus and Lepidus and their callous proscriptions of their own brothers: *De germanis, non de Gallis, duo triumphant consules*). This suggests to my friend Mrs. Eileen Squires [also see Kumaniecki (cited in n. 1), p. 21], who cites Lycoph. *Alex.* 450-79, a connection with the Teucer-Ajax story.

27. A. W. Verrall, *Studies in the Odes of Horace* (London, 1884), p. 27, and W. Y. Sellar, *Horace and the Elegiac Poets* (Oxford, 1892), pp. 175f.

28. In the case of those who had merely been on Brutus' side, one should not press this too far. Augustus, one recalls, affably called Livy, who had even debated whether Caesar's birth had been a blessing or not to Rome (Sen. *Q. Nat.* 5. 18. 4), his "Pompeyite" (*Tac. Ann.* 4. 34. 3). Still, men like Sestius, who openly kept images of Brutus about his house, and Messalla, who had the courage to resign the prefectship of the city, might have been considered as potential rallying points for reviving republicanism. Cf. Suet. *Gram.* 4, for the pressure apparently put on Messalla to repudiate the elegists and neoterics, with their dubious political record, and see the instructive study of B. Otis, "Horace and the Elegists," *TAPA*, LXXVI (1945), 178 and 185, n. 18. So, too, *Carm.* 2. 2 to Sallust (composed, I assume, shortly after 27 B.C.) seems hardly so complimentary as it is usually said to be (cf. *Tac. Ann.* 3. 30), even though Horace may have somewhat changed his views since he wrote *Sat.* 1. 2. 48ff. If against Bentley one takes *nisi* — *splendat* to be the protasis to *nullus — terris*, as W. H. Alexander, "Nullus argente color (Horace, *Odes* 2. 2. 1-4)," *TAPA*, LXXIII (1943), 192-201, has convincingly argued, and goes on to consider the ugly vigor of the sound effects in the strophe which deplets Bion's comparison of avarice to dropsy (on which see L. P. Wilkinson, *Horace and His Lyric Poetry* [Cambridge, 1946], p. 138) in which the *e* and *i* and *s* (first sounded in *Crispe Sallusti*, l. 3) are repeatedly reproduced:

*Crescit indulgens sibi dirus hydrops,
nec sitim pellit, nisi causa morbi
fugerit venis et aquosus albo
corpore languor,*

then one may conclude that here Horace is lecturing this millionaire. That the records of Dellius and Murena (even before the latter's final move) were not spotless needs no amplification here. Finally, one may note how frequently the motive of wine, symbolic for relaxed acceptance, is used in the odes to these men.

29. Note how the repetition of initial *t* binds together this phrase.

30. Cf. *Carm.* 3. 6. 2-3 and Suet. *Aug.* 29. 5.

31. That date is here assumed to be 23 B.C.; see F. L. Santee, "The Date of Publication of Horace's Odes I-III," *PAPA*, LXII (1931), xxxii.

32. For information on the ex-consuls still living in this year, I am grateful to my friend Professor T. Robert S. Broughton.

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF IONIA¹

CARL ROEBUCK

WHILE the history of Greece before 550 B.C. has always been an obscure period which scholars endeavored to illuminate *per obscuriora*, one tenet seemed to be securely fixed in our textbooks and histories: that the Ionian Greeks of the eastern Aegean played a leading role in the development of archaic Greece. Yet, in the last generation specialized archeological work has removed Panionism, Ionia as the source and inspiration, from the study of early Greek art and the implications are now spreading to other fields. In the last five years two articles, in particular, have been published from which I should like to summarize some conclusions as a starting point for my own remarks on economic development. They are Mr. George Hanfmann's article, "Archaeology in Homeric Asia Minor"² and Mr. R. M. Cook's "Ionia and Greece in the Eighth and Seventh Centuries B.C."³ Hanfmann concluded that Greek settlement of the eastern Ionian area began *ca.* 800 B.C. in Samos and Chios and that only in the course of the succeeding century did Greek settlers win the Ionian sites on the adjacent coast.⁴ If this is so, Ionian development was not parallel in form to that of Old Greece, which rose from the matrix of the migrations and settlements following the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization. Instead, it was a colonial development which might resemble that of the western Greeks in Sicily and South Italy, for it was almost contemporary with them.⁵

Cook's article has extended the problem from origins to a general assessment

of the place of Ionia in Greek development. As he observes, there are no direct estimates of the early importance of Ionia in the Greek sources;⁶ but these are hardly to be expected in Herodotus and Thucydides, I think, for the intellectual climate of fifth century Athens was not sympathetic towards the Ionian Greeks, who had not only lost a war with Persia, but were charged with dragging Athens into one. Despite Herodotus' obvious approval of these views and minimization of Ionia⁷ his account carries the material for its refutation. A study of details leaves the impression that Ionia was very important, indeed, in the latter part of the archaic period. Cook concludes that the colonial activity of Ionia was on a smaller scale than that of Old Greece and began later. He distinguishes, however, between the character of colonization from each region: that of the Ionians was complementary to the parent-city while the western colonies of Old Greece were intended to be economically independent, to rid the motherland of surplus inhabitants and to create a new state.⁸ This seems an important distinction with interesting implications for the degree of economic development to which the founding cities of mainland Greece and Ionia had respectively attained. With regard to trade, Cook concludes that Old Greece was generally earlier in trading than East Greece, but points out that the evidence is not yet conclusive.⁹ He also observes that discussions of trade are almost necessarily based on the distribution of pottery. Yet, in the East Greek area, at least,

pottery was not an important article of trade. It merely indicates a "hidden" trade carried on by the East Greeks in trading posts, a trade which may have started before they established the post and which did not exchange pottery for the objects sought.¹⁰

These are the main points. We might begin with the problem of the strength of the Ionian states and that of Old Greece. Lack of evidence, of course, precludes the possibility of arriving at any definite figure for the population of a Greek state in the archaic period, but, in Herodotus, there are some indications of naval strength for the period from 550 B.C. to the Persian Wars, from which we may also conjecture backwards. They reveal that individually and collectively the fleets of Ionian cities were as large, if not larger, than those of Old Greece and of the New Greece in the west until Athens and Syracuse built navies *ca.* 480 B.C. which upset the maritime balance of the Aegean and Tyrrhenian seas; probably, too, the trireme was first used extensively by Ionian Greeks. The number of sailors required to man the ships indicates a population far above the productive capacity of the states to feed. Grain had to be imported on a large scale. Timber for ship building would also have been an important and necessary import.

Herodotus, in his description of the battle of Lade, fought between those Ionians still in the war and the Persians in 494 B.C., gives us a fleet list.¹¹ He represents the contingents of the Ionian alliance as made up by almost a scraping of the bottom of the barrel. Their total is 353 triremes. Of that number, Chios furnished 100, Miletus, threatened by land attack as well, 80, Lesbos 70, and Samos 60. The other units were very small, ranging from Phocaea's 3 to

the Tean 17. These were warships, of course, but the Ionians also had merchant ships in service during the revolt, engaged in bringing supplies from the Black Sea.¹² Possibly their crews were transferred to the warships for this last great sea battle. The total number is to be compared to the collective strength of the Greeks at Artemisium, 325 at the highest estimate,¹³ and at Salamis, 310 according to Aeschylus.¹⁴ Beloch pertinently notes that neither Athens, nor Syracuse, at the height of their naval power, mustered such a fleet as that at Lade on any one occasion.¹⁵ Three questions arise: Is the total compatible with what we know of Ionian fleets on other occasions? Are the figures for the individual contingents approximately correct? Were the ships at Lade really triremes? All can, I think, be answered affirmatively.

Scholars have generally accepted the total at Lade as approximately correct or little exaggerated; so, too, with the totals for Artemisium and Salamis. In the case of the Ionian fleet at Lade, the obvious comparison is with the contingents supplied to the Persians in 480 B.C. Tarn's detailed study of that problem contains the incidental verdict that at Lade the Greeks would have had 300 ships at least;¹⁶ Beloch, while criticising Tarn's reconstruction for the Persian War, accepts the figure for Lade as little exaggerated.¹⁷ The number is also compatible with the number of 200 ships reported by Herodotus for Artaphrenes' expedition against Naxos in 499 B.C.¹⁸ This was a levy, of course, not a total mobilization; it was the nucleus of the fleet which the Ionians used in the revolt.

The figures for the individual contingents can be checked to some degree for Chios and Samos. Herodotus places Polycrates' fleet at 100 pentekonteres

near the outset of his career, *ca.* 540 B.C.;¹⁹ later it is observed that he sent a detachment of 40 triremes to support Cambyses in Egypt.²⁰ A century later, in 440 B.C., in its revolt against Athens, Samos mustered 50 triremes and 20 transports, according to Thucydides.²¹ Thus, the figure for Samos of 60 in 494 B.C. seems to agree with what is known of Samian naval strength 50 years before and after that date. When Chios was a member in good standing of the Athenian Empire, it contributed, together with Lesbos, fleets of 50 and 55 triremes to the service of Athens and the League.²² These were levies only and we get a picture of total Chian strength in the period of the Sicilian expedition and the ensuing revolts against Athens. The Athenians levied about 25 Chian ships which were lost in Sicily.²³ Yet, in 412 B.C. Chios satisfied the Spartans that it could contribute 60 triremes to a revolt against Athens.²⁴ Here again, the figure of 100 triremes from Chios in 494 B.C. seems compatible with what is known of its later strength. Apparently, then, Herodotus' figures for both states are accurate and he gives us a valid picture of relative sea power among the Ionian states: Chios, Miletus, Lesbos, Samos in that order. Herodotus tells us that the Samians had the best reputation²⁵ — a result presumably of Polycrates' efforts to found a maritime empire.

It is instructive to compare these fleets with what we know or conjecture of the fleets of Old Greece and of the west at the same period: Aegina, perhaps 80; Athens, 70, 20 of which were rented from Corinth; Corinth, probably higher than either, but it sent only 40 ships as its contribution to the fleets at Artemisium and Salamis;²⁶ Corcyra could afford to make a brave showing with 60 after the battle of Salamis had

been fought and won.²⁷ For Sicily and South Italy Dunbabin has suggested 60 ships at the most for the fleets of Hippokrates and Anaxilas *ca.* 490 B.C.²⁸ Athens and Syracuse could and did build great fleets shortly after this, but on the Herodotean evidence, the Ionian states were predominant in sea power before 490 B.C. It is significant that the strongest state in Old Greece, Sparta, was a land power whose strength rested on its hoplites. This actual predominance of sea power in Ionia was apparently obtained in part by readiness to make innovations, to adopt the trireme. Herodotus describes the Ionian fleet at Lade as made up of triremes²⁹ and recent discussion of the development of the Greek ship has demonstrated that he makes a careful distinction between pentekonters and triremes, thus using the terms deliberately and presumably correctly. It is suggested that the Ionian Greeks passed out of the pentekonter stage between the coming of the Persians, *ca.* 540 B.C., and the battle of Lade. Polycrates has the credit for building the first fleet of triremes.³⁰ This Ionian innovation would have been a response to the threat of Persian encroachment, just as the building of large new fleets in Athens and Syracuse was a response to the threats of Persian and Carthaginian attack. Objection might be raised that the Ionians began to build large fleets only when threatened by Persia. Yet Herodotus stresses the sea power of the islanders at the time of Croesus' conquests *ca.* 560 B.C.³¹ Perhaps the extensive use which Phocaea made of pentekonters for its long voyages to the west in the seventh century marks the beginning of large Ionian navies.³² The tradition of strong sea power would, then, go back into the seventh century.

If triremes were used at Lade we are enabled to make some estimates of the number of men in naval service during the Ionian Revolt. It is likely that slaves would have been used sparingly in such a critical situation so that our estimate would be of free citizens under arms. Herodotus' normal figure for the complement of a trireme is 200.³³ Possibly there were fewer on board the early triremes, but Herodotus tells us that in the case of Chios, at least, 40 marines were also put on board.³⁴ Using the figure of 200 for each trireme, the following totals are obtained: Chios, 20,000; Miletus, 16,000; Lesbos, 14,000; Samos, 12,000. Probably for the island states these represent almost full mobilization, but for the mainland cities, such as Miletus, substantial forces would have been left on guard. If the usual ratio of about 1 to 4 for adult males of military age to total population is applied, we obtain figures for the free population as follows: Chios, *ca.* 80,000; Miletus, *ca.* 64,000; Lesbos, *ca.* 56,000; Samos, *ca.* 48,000. To these should be added an unknown number of slaves. Possibly it was already very large in Chios, for Thucydides, in the late fifth century, states that the island possessed more slaves than any other Greek state except Sparta with its helots.³⁵

These figures indicate that in each of the states mentioned the population was in considerable excess of the productive capacity of the cultivable land in the state. Chios, for example, had to import grain for well over a third of its population.³⁶ Some of this surplus population was no doubt going into mercenary service; Herodotus observes that 30,000 Ionians and Carians were in the army of Apries of Egypt *ca.* 570 B.C.³⁷ If this figure is correct, we are confronted with a phenomenon like that

of fourth century Greece when thousands of men were entering the armies of Persia. Some were also filtering into Thrace, the Black Sea area and to the far west, but not in any organized colonial movement on a large scale. All the Phocaeans and Teans would have stayed at home, if possible. Generally speaking, the larger Ionian states must have been trying to feed their people by the importation of grain, paying for it and providing employment by the development of special products, of industries and of such services as a carrying trade, and, withal, finding the surplus to erect such structures as the great temples on Samos and at Ephesus. These last are at least evidence of considerable technical ability, skill in craftsmanship, and wealth, if not of the best taste. In the period of the mid- and later sixth century, certainly, Ionia seems to have been predominant in sea power and to have created a well developed and advanced import trade — a trade in bulk goods like grain which is significantly different from the importation of luxury goods on a small scale for a part of the population.

From the point of view of economic history this solution, by the development of sea trade in bulk goods and mass volume, is more important than a small trickle of luxury goods and exotics such as may be found even in very primitive cultures. Volume trade will involve radical changes in the economic, social and political structure of the state, the other need not. What is important in a comparison of the colonizing and trading activity is not so much the date at which it begins, but the date at which it assumes this significant character.³⁸ We might now try to answer the important question: When did the size of the population bring about the need for such a trade?

According to the reduced foundation dates, based on archeological evidence, for Naukratis and the Black Sea colonies, it was probably the last quarter of the seventh century. At that time there is a significant cluster of foundations: Naukratis, 615/610 B.C.; Istrus, Olbia, and Apollonia Pontica, 610/600 B.C.³⁹ The significance lies not so much in the fact that the Black Sea region and Egypt were opened up to trade and settlement at a much later date than the Italian west, but that colonies in these places were primarily trading factories in food-producing regions. Presumably the capacity of the Black Sea region as a producer of grain and fish would have become known in the course of the several generations of inhabitation in the Propontis colonies,⁴⁰ but there was hardly an incentive to settlement in such an uncongenial region until there was a need for its products. Egypt, as a source of luxury articles and *bric-à-brac*, was probably known much earlier to occasional traders, but Naukratis, as I have argued elsewhere, was established to provide the facilities for a bulk trade in grain.⁴¹ Herodotus characterizes both it and the Black Sea cities as *emporía*,⁴² essentially trading places, and recent Russian work describes the early settlements as trading factories until well down into the sixth century, when they began to take on a more permanent and independent character.⁴³

This solution to the problem of overpopulation enabled the Ionian states to support a surplus population of some size and to develop a strength and complexity of economic organization out of proportion to their relatively small land area. Was Old Greece able to do the same? Corinth and Aegina made use of Naukratis and Egyptian grain from the foundation of the *emporion*,⁴⁴ but if

they were importers of grain before that date, it would have been from and through the Sicilian and South Italian colonies. There is trade, of course, from the early eighth century,⁴⁵ but it seems significant that large scale production and export of Corinthian pottery does not begin until the development of Early Corinthian black-figure ware *ca.* 625 B.C.⁴⁶ Export of silver to the west starts only after 600 B.C.⁴⁷ Athens is hardly a factor until the middle of the sixth century.⁴⁸ It looks very much as if both Old and Ionian Greece were experiencing the same rhythm of economic development. That is, the economically significant point in the development of trade in the Aegean comes in the last quarter of the seventh century. Qualitatively and temporally it is parallel in Old Greece and Ionia.

There seems also to be little significant difference of period in the earliest trading activity when trade sought luxury products or metals. In the west Cyme is the earliest Greek colony, probably founded *ca.* 750 B.C. and, to judge from the bypassing of Sicilian and South Italian sites, designed as a trading post, perhaps to get metals.⁴⁹ In the east the earliest East Greek establishment was probably at Al Mina near the mouth of the Orontes in northern Syria; the settlers were evidently East Greeks to judge from their pottery, but perhaps from the Cycladic and Rhodian area rather than the Ionian. From the third quarter of the eighth century, however, Al Mina presumably provided an outlet for the luxury goods of the east.⁵⁰ This trade raises a difficult question. How were the goods paid for? If by their own pottery the East Greeks were very good traders, indeed, to judge from the poor quality and sparse quantity of pottery found on sites up the Orontes valley. Possibly silver and gold

were exchanged as in Egypt, if we judge from a silver coin hoard of the late archaic period found farther to the south at Ras Shamra.⁵¹ In this connection it is interesting to speculate whether the East Greeks, the Ionians in particular, were obtaining precious metals from Thasos in the late eighth century; the deposits are said by Herodotus to have been known to the Phoenicians.⁵²

In both Old Greece and in Ionia colonization followed upon these early trading ventures. Emigration was apparently earlier and on a larger scale from Old Greece to the west, but that may merely indicate that there was more elbow room in the region close at hand to Ionia. For example, the Chian colony at Maroneia in Thrace was early enough to be mentioned by Homer and Archilochus as a source of good wine.⁵³ Chios and Samos were able to establish enclaves on the adjacent Anatolian coast, to the dissatisfaction of their neighbors, Erythrae and Priene.⁵⁴ There was room for small settlements in Aeolis and inland from the coast, as at Larisa.⁵⁵ Perhaps a filling out of the region adjacent to Ionia and Aeolis corresponded to the first wave which took Old Greece to the west; then, early in the seventh century, movement began into the Propontis and into eastern Thrace.⁵⁶ This early colonization may have been akin to that of the west, primarily agricultural; but soon East Greece seems to have been ready to take advantage of the facilities for trade and to lay the foundations for the significant trading colonies of the late seventh century.

We have thus worked our way backwards to the early archaic period which Hanfmann has suggested as the time when movement into Ionia was completed. It seems, however, that movement out had already started. This early movement may not have been caused by excess population. Motives of trade should receive more emphasis in early colonization. But could the Ionian cities have reached the peak of population attested for the sixth century if they were founded only in the eighth century? Further, there scarcely seems time for a fixing of organization such as evidently went on in the Ionian cities before the early colonial movement. For example, tribal names of seemingly local origin are common to both Miletus and to its early colony, Cyzicus; to Samos and to its colony, Perinthus. These are not the old Ionian tribal names, but developments from a mixing of Greek emigrants and natives, the results of struggles and adjustments.⁵⁷ This, however, is leading to a discussion of the social and political organization. In the economic development, I suggest that the significant factor is development by sea power and sea communications, the significant time is the last quarter of the seventh century, and that there is a similar rhythm between Old Greece and Ionia, the expression of which naturally took slightly different forms in the somewhat different areas. This similar rhythm, moreover, may suggest a similar origin in the conditions of post-Mycenean Greece.

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NOTES

1. This paper was presented in a symposium on the subject, "The Role of Ionia in the Development of Classical Greek Culture," at the meeting of the American Philological Association in Princeton on December 27, 1951. I have made a few slight changes in the text and added notes.

2. *AJA*, LII (1948), 135-55.

3. *JHS*, LXVI (1946), 67-98.

4. Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

5. Thucydides (1. 12. 4) perhaps couples the Ionian migration with the colonization of Italy and Sicily; perhaps, for his reference to it is placed before the latter in

the order of his text and in this paragraph he is spanning a period of five centuries in a few sentences.

6. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 67ff.

7. This disparagement is Herodotus' usual attitude to the Ionians and probably represents views current in the fifth century after the Persian Wars (1. 143. 2; 4. 142; 5. 89. 1; 6. 12-13. 1; Gomme, *Commentary on Thucydides*, I (Oxford, 1945), 127). He makes an exception, of course, of Athens whose bitterness towards the Ionians during the Wars appears in Themistocles' message on the rocks of Euboea (8. 22. 1-2). There are, however, traces of a different evaluation of the Asiatic Ionians (see 5. 28), as well as the detail which is developed in the course of this paper. Thucydides, too, reflects the disparagement, particularly in hortatory speeches by Dorian commanders who do not make any reservation in favor of Athens (1. 124. 1; 5. 9. 1; 7. 5. 4; 8. 25. 3). Thucydides' most damaging evidence, of course, is his scant mention of Ionian sea power in his sketch of early Greek development. In it, Corinth is singled out (1. 13. 2) as a leader and the Ionian fleet mentioned only for the time of Cyrus and Cambyses (1. 13. 6), while the Ionian fleets of the Revolt are passed over in favor of those of Coreyra and Sicily. These emphases are perhaps to be explained by the nature of Thucydides' analysis. It is primarily in terms of naval power in war, although he represents Corinth's maritime growth as commercial in the first instance; further, his views are formed from his estimate of the efficiency and uses of Athenian naval power in the fifth century. From this point of view, Ionian naval power was effective for the islanders in the time of Cyrus and Cambyses; it did not attain its proper end during the Revolt, while before Cyrus there was no occasion for its use in large scale warfare.

8. Cook, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 87.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 80. This seems to be true of trade with Egypt and Syria, but it may not be the case in Thrace and the Black Sea area. Egypt and Syria had a developed industry of their own and no need of such Greek products in volume, but Thrace and the Black Sea region probably absorbed Ionian industrial products on a large scale. Thus, in Egypt the finds of Greek pottery outside Naukratis are scanty (Cook, *JHS*, LVII (1937), 236-37; Roebuck, *CP*, XLV (1950), 236) and in North Syria the chief quantity of pottery is from Al Mina rather than the sites farther inland on the route to the interior (see note 50 below). Thrace, of course, awaits excavation and the material from the Black Sea a re-examination in the light of revised chronology and estimates of trading activity.

11. Her. 6. 8.

12. Her. 6. 5. 2-3, 26. 1.

13. Beloch, *GG*², II, 2, 62-67.

14. Aeschylus *Persians*, 339-40.

15. Beloch, *op. cit.*, II, 1, 15, n. 1; see note 30 below.

16. Tarn, *JHS*, XXVIII (1908), 228.

17. Beloch, *loc. cit.*; so, too, How and Wells, *Commentary on Herodotus*, II (Oxford, 1928), 68; Köster, "Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Seewesens," *Klio*, Beiheft, XXXII (1934), 98.

18. Her. 5. 31. 4.

19. Her. 3. 39. 3.

20. Her. 3. 44. 2. This detachment probably represented less than half of his fleet since the ships were manned by malcontents and Polygerates would feel it necessary to keep a substantial margin of safety.

21. Thuc. 1. 116. 1.

22. In 440 b.c. at the time of the Samian revolt 55 triremes were levied from both islands (Thuc. 1. 116-17); in 430 b.c., 50 triremes were levied (Thuc. 2. 56. 2).

23. The exact number of Chian ships levied for the first expedition in 415 b.c. is unknown. Thucydides, however, names only Chios specifically among the allies furnishing 34 ships in all, which indicates that the Chians

furnished the largest separate unit (Thuc. 6. 43); later a levy of 5 was made (Thuc. 7. 20. 2).

24. Thuc. 8. 6. 4. Presumably the 7 collected by Athens as a pledge of good faith before the revolt (Thuc. 8. 9-10) were numbered among the 60.

25. Her. 5. 112. 1; 6. 8. 2.

26. Beloch, *GG*², II, 2, 63-67; Athens had rented 20 from Corinth to increase its small fleet of 50 for the war against Aegina (Her. 6. 89, 92, 132). The figure for Aegina is conjectural.

27. Her. 7. 168. 2.

28. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 109, 404-5.

29. Her. 6. 8. 2; Herodotus also describes the vessels picked up from Lesbos as triremes (6. 5. 2-3).

30. J. A. Davison, *CQ*, XLI (1947), 18-24; G. S. Kirk, *BSA*, XLIV (1949), 142.

31. Her. 1. 26-27, 143; cf. also Thucydides' statement about the strength of the Ionian fleets at the time of Cyrus' conquests (note 7 above).

32. Her. 1. 163.

33. Her. 7. 184. 1; 8. 17.

34. Her. 6. 15. 1.

35. Thuc. 8. 40. 2; Roebuck, *CP*, XLV (1950), 245, n. 41.

36. The total area of Chios is given by Beloch as 826.7 km.² (*Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* [Leipzig, 1886], p. 224). Of that about 20% would be suitable for cereal production, while the remainder would be mountainous or usable for grazing only. Since we know that Chios produced olives and vines in the sixth century (Roebuck, *CP*, XLV (1950), 240 and 245, notes 38 and 40) a further deduction of 10% of the area for cereals should be made (Roebuck, *CP*, XL (1945), 157, n. 60). Thus, ca. 150 km.² remains. Of that area one-half would lie fallow each year according to the usual practice of Greek agriculture: ca. 75 km.² would be available for the annual crop. The crop would presumably be in both barley and wheat, but we do not know the relative proportions. For the purpose of these calculations, to allow as much production as possible, we will assume it was entirely in barley with a yield of 18 hectolitres per hectare (Roebuck, *op. cit.*, p. 158). The average annual yield of barley would have been 135,000 hectolitres. The mean annual ration of barley per person may be calculated as 2.60 hectolitres (Roebuck, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-61). Chian production, then, would feed a population of about 52,000. Actually it would provide for less since some barley would have been needed for animals and probably some wheat was produced, the yield of which was about half that of barley. Our estimate of the population was a minimum of 80,000 so that grain would have had to be imported for more than 30,000 persons per year. Similar calculations might be made for the other islands, the area of which is known (for fifth century Lesbos see D. P. Mantzouranis, *The Annual Agricultural Revenue of Lesbos in Antiquity* [Mytilene, 1950]). We can scarcely make them, however, for Miletus since the amount of land which it controlled in the fertile Maeander plain is unknown.

The above calculation is primarily designed to show that there was need of imported grain in substantial volume in the East Greek states. It is illuminated by hints in the literary sources that such was the case: Teos — the well-known inscription (Tod, *GHI*, No. 23. 6-12) which curses those who prevent the importation of grain into Teos and (probably) re-export it after it has been brought in; this seems better taken as showing a normal condition of scarcity than a temporary one due to disorganization after the Persian Wars (so Hunt, *JHS*, LXVII (1947), p. 70, n. 15); Miletus — Herodotus represents Miletus as importing grain during the siege of Alyattes (1. 16-22), but that may have been only an abnormal war-time condition resulting from the destruction

of Milesian harvests; Lesbos — Histiaeus did not find enough grain for his forces on Lesbos (Her. 6. 28. 2) so that he crossed to the mainland to reap the harvest (see also Thuc. 3. 2. 2, where the Lesbians are described as accumulating a stock of grain from the Black Sea before they venture to revolt). In addition to these specific indications we know that Ionian ships were engaged in bringing supplies from the Black Sea during the Revolt (above, note 12). Mainland Greeks also imported grain at the time of the Persian Wars (Her. 7. 147).

37. Her. 2. 163. 1; for mercenaries in the archaic period see Parke, *Greek Mercenary Soldiers* (Oxford, 1933), pp. 3-13.

38. Cf. the remarks of Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*, I (Leiden, 1938), 244ff.

39. Cook, *JHS*, LVI (1946), 76-78.

40. Colonial settlement in this region seems to have begun on some scale in the early part of the seventh century; Cook, *loc. cit.* and Rhys Carpenter, *AJA*, LII (1948), 1-10.

41. Roebuck, *CP*, XLV (1950), 236-37.

42. Roebuck, *CP*, XLVI (1951), 215 and 219, n. 22.

43. S. A. Zebel'ev, *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1938, 2, pp. 154ff.; A. A. Essena, *Vestnik*, 1946, 3, p. 222; K. M. Kolobotha, *Vestnik*, 1949, 2, pp. 130ff.

44. Roebuck, *CP*, XLV (1950), 237-38.

45. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, pp. 3, 214; Dunbabin ascribes great importance to the grain trade in the seventh century.

46. Dunbabin, *ibid.*, pp. 225ff.; the most important period of the Potters' Quarter in Corinth begins with Early Corinthian (A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, 1 [Princeton, 1948], 15-20).

47. C. H. V. Sutherland, *AJP*, LXIV (1943), 137ff.; Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, pp. 246ff. The very important article of E. S. G. Robinson on the dating of the coins in the Ephesus base (*JHS*, LXI [1951], 156-67) places the beginning of coinage in Ionia in the last half of the seventh century; this involves scaling down the dates of the mainland Greek coinages since they are apparently derivative.

48. While the change in Athenian economy no doubt started in the Solonian period its significant point in the sense described above is rather in the time of Peisistratus. Athenian pottery fully replaces Corinthian in the west about the middle of the sixth century (Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, p. 226), but Athenian coins do not appear until the end of the century (*ibid.*, p. 249). In Egypt, there is some Athenian pottery almost from the foundation of Naukratis, but the bulk of it falls after the middle of the century (Roebuck, *CP*, XLV [1950], 244, n. 19); while there are a few coins before 550 B.C., their number begins to increase steadily only in the latter part of the century (*ibid.*, p. 237 and p. 244, n. 16). In Syria at Al Mina the earliest Attic material is of the last quarter of the sixth century although the nearby Sabouni has some early Attic black-figure ware and a few pieces are reported from other Syrian sites (*JHS*, LVIII [1938], 21 and LIX [1939], 1-44). At Al Mina, however, there is a gap in the material between the end of the seventh and

the last quarter of the sixth century which is difficult to account for; Robertson (*JHS*, LXVI [1946], 125) suggests that a gradual change was made from East Greek to Athenian orientation in the course of the century. The earliest Athenian coins found there are tetradrachms of the latter part of the fifth century (Robinson, *Num. Chron.*, XVII [1937], 182-96). The earliest Athenian pottery from the Black Sea sites is a fragment from a pot by the painter of Acropolis 606 in the second quarter of the sixth century (Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure* [Berkeley, 1951], p. 40).

49. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, pp. 5-8, 458, 461.

50. Robertson (*JHS*, LX [1940], 2-21) and Cook (*JHS*, LXVI [1946], 78-79) find nothing that need go back into the first half of the eighth century although Smith considers the settlement dated from ca. 800 B.C. (*Antiquaries' Journal*, XXII [1942], 87-112). I am indebted to Mr. G. Swift of the Oriental Institute for allowing me to inspect the material from the Institute's investigations in the Amk plain.

51. Schaeffer, *Mélanges Dussaud*, XXX (1939), 1, 461-87. The majority of the coins are Thracio-Macedonian (33 out of 38), the others from Salamis in Cyprus. Another hoard is reported from the mountains between Antioch and Latakia (Noe, *Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*, No. 55). It, too, consisted of Thracio-Macedonian coins. The presence of the Cypriote coins suggests that Cypriotes brought this silver to the Syrian ports, but presumably Ionian traders from the northern Aegean would have brought it to Cyprus as they apparently did to Egypt (Roebuck, *CP*, XLV [1950], 238-40); W. Schwabacher notes the importance of Thracio-Macedonian silver for the trade with Syria (*Skrifter Utg. av Svenska Inst. i Rom*, XV [1950], 142-43).

52. Her. 6. 47.

53. *Iliad* 9. 71-72; *Odyssey* 9. 196-98; Archilochus, Frag. 2 (Diehl). For the date of colonization in this region see Cook, *JHS*, LXVI (1946), 71. Unfortunately for the chronology, Homer, whose references to Thrace indicate some knowledge and trading connections, and Archilochus, important for the colonization of Thasos, Maroneia and Stryme, afford our literary evidence.

54. *RE*, VI (Stuttgart, 1909), 585; *IA*² (Stuttgart, 1920), 2213.

55. Greek occupation of Larisa is apparently to be dated ca. 700 B.C. (Hanfmann, *AJA*, LII [1948], 146). Larisa's location, inland from the coast, indicates that it would hardly be a primary Greek settlement in Asia Minor, but would rather mark an expansion inland, just as Greek influence began to affect Sardis ca. 700 B.C. (Hanfmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-54). There may be some reflections of this movement in the literary sources; e.g., the traditions of Ionian settlement of Phocaea from Teos and Erythrae, of Clazomenae from Colophon (Wilamowitz, *SB Berlin*, [1906], 55-57; Caspari, *JHS*, XXXV [1915], 177-78); of the capture of Acolian Smyrna by the Colophonians (Her. 1. 149-50).

56. See notes 40 and 53 above.

57. Nilsson, *Culta, Myths, Oracles, and Politics in Ancient Greece* (Lund, 1951), pp. 143-49.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

ANTHOLOGIA PALATINA 11. 146

With only three Latin versions of the epigram *Anthologia Palatina* 11. 146, on Flaccus and his solecisms, have I been for some years thoroughly familiar: Thomas More's (*Epigrammata*, at Froben's, Basel, 1520); and the much more accessible versions in the Dübner-Couigny *Anthologia Palatina*, one by Grotius and the other by Bothe. Other versions, most of which I have been unable to examine, are mentioned in James Hutton's volumes on the Greek Anthology. Translations by Chrestien, Van Meurs, and Catherinot are listed in the register of Hutton's *Greek Anthology in France* (p. 753); and a translation by Cunich, listed on page 596 of Hutton's *Greek Anthology in Italy*, is given below. The Greek text is as follows:

Ἐπτὰ σολοικισμοὺς Φλάκκῳ τῷ ῥήτορι δῶρον
πέμψας, ἀντέλαβον πεντάκι διακοσίους.
καὶ "οὐν μὲν" φησιν "τούτους ἀριθμῶ σοι ἔπεμψα,
τοῦ λοιποῦ δὲ μέτρον, πρὸς Κύπρον ἐρχόμενος."

Partly because of oddities and contradictions in the translations and partly for even better reasons I should like to propose here an interpretation which, if it has not been missed and ignored as far back as the record shows, is nevertheless lost to modern readers — lost because it is not to be found in any of the more accessible versions, or in any of the less accessible versions which I have been able to consult.¹ All the versions which I have managed to see (along with the note on ἀριθμῶ in the Dübner-Couigny edition)² imply that μέτρον signifies merely a greater number of solecisms than does ἀριθμῶ. To be sure, Flaccus meant to promise (μέτρον) a greater number than he sent (ἀριθμῶ). However, in reproducing what Flaccus meant to say and in making this greater number of solecisms the whole point of the epigram

the translators ignore the real point, i.e., what Flaccus unintentionally said. This greater number which Flaccus really meant to send is made the whole point of the translations not only when πεντάκι διακοσίους is reduced to "fifty" as in More's version, but also when the number remains "a thousand." (Nicolas Catherinot, *Epigrammata* [Bourges, 1660-64], puts *quinque atque decem* where we read πεντάκι διακοσίους, thus seeming to ignore 985 solecisms.)

The interpretation proposed here depends primarily on the essential contrast between ἀριθμητόν and μετρητόν³ as revealed in Aristotle's *Metaphysics* 5. 13. 1: πλῆθος μὲν οὖν ποσὸν τι ἂν ἀριθμητόν ᾖ, μέγεθος δὲ ἂν μετρητόν ᾖ. "A quantity is a number if you count it, and a size if you measure it." Surely Aristotle's contrast between ἀριθμητόν and μετρητόν is significant for the interpretation of an epigram wherein the point seems to depend on a contrast between ἀριθμῶ and μέτρον. Flaccus thought that he was sending a few solecisms and promising more; however, the emphasis in this paper will be not on what Flaccus thought he was doing and saying, but rather on what he actually did and said.

Of the Greek epigram with which we are concerned, a paraphrase furnishing the implied circumstances and lending unmistakable emphasis to the points would be as follows:

For his amusement I sent to Flaccus the rhetorician seven solecisms which I had encountered. Flaccus, intending to return only an approximately equal (ἀριθμῶ) number,⁴ made, quite unconsciously, so many of his own that I received from him a total of a thousand. Along with the solecisms, so much more numerous than he knew, Flaccus sent an ambiguous and

solecistic message. It was his intention to say "I send you hereby enough solecisms to match those seven ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$) which you sent me; but when I reach Cyprus I'll give you full measure ($\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$) — more than the seven I owe." Actually his having made unconsciously so many solecisms and his unfortunate choice of the words $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ cause Flaccus to say, again unconsciously, "I send you these solecisms to count; but when I reach Cyprus I'll present you with some whoppers to measure."

In short, Flaccus knows neither how numerous are the solecisms he has sent, nor how monstrous those he promises.

Here is an ignorance so profound, so complete, so symmetrical that its revelation must have been the epigrammatist's desire. This interpretation uses the true relation between $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ and removes the necessity of considering $\pi\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\iota$ $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ⁵ "few" in comparison with $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ (a necessity which probably prompted More and Catherinot to reduce the number to fifty and fifteen). Furthermore in this interpretation Flaccus' own words are a striking example of his particular weakness.

If Flaccus had sent not a thousand solecisms, but only seven, then $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ would imply "seven" or "few"; $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$, in a sentence which does not contain $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$, could imply "full measure." But the thousand solecisms lend to $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ the

meanings "for number," "for the sake of their great number," "for you to count." And wherever $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ has such meanings as these, there the antithetical $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ means "for size," "for the sake of their great size," "for you to measure."⁶ Flaccus might as well have written $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ for $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$, and $\mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\theta\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\alpha$ for $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$.

The various interpretations of $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ might be represented in Latin thus. Flaccus, in his ungrammatical bliss, felt that $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ meant *numeratos*, indicating the way in which he had chosen seven solecisms for his friend's amusement; the translators, in their error, felt that $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ meant *numeratos*, indicating the way in which Flaccus had chosen or had made a thousand solecisms (or, in More's version, fifty); but the recipient of the thousand solecisms understood $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ not as *numeratos*, rather as *numerandos*, indicating the proper treatment of a thousand solecisms if the sender was unaware of most of them. As for what he would provide later (on arriving at Cyprus), Flaccus felt that $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ meant "many" or "more than seven" or "full measure"; the translators felt that it meant "more than a thousand" or, in More's version, "more than fifty"; and the recipient interpreted it to mean *metiendos* "so large as to deserve to be measured."

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NOTES

1. More made conspicuous changes. The thousand solecisms he reduced to fifty probably because he felt — and with good reason — that if $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ implied "few" and $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ "many" or "more," then a thousand was too large a number to be called "few," even by a stupid rhetorician. He added a word not represented in the Greek, i.e., *paucos* (modifying the now reduced number of fifty solecisms). Finally he wrote *Cypro* for $\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma$ Κύπρου , thus reversing the direction of Flaccus' journey. More's translation:

Quinque solecismis donavi rhetora Flaccum,
Quinque statim decies reddidit ille mihi.
Nunc numero hos, inquit, paucos contentus habeto:
Mensura accipies quando redibo Cypro.

Grotius' translation:

Pro septem Flaccus rhetori mihi quinque ducentos
Ipse solecismos reddidit, atque, Parum est:
Hos tibi nunc numero, sed postquam uenero Cyprum,
Tunc admensa tibi talla plura dabo.

Bothe's line-by-line translation (without meter):

Septem solecismos Flacco rhetori donum
Postquam-misi, uicissim accepi quinque du-
centos: et "Nunc quidem" ait "hos numero misi,
deinceps autem modio, ad Cyprum ubi ueniam."

Cunich's translation (provided by courtesy of James Hutton):

Quinque solecismos misi munuscula Flacco,
Mille alios subito reddidit ille mihi,
Scripsit et: hos numero mitto, missurus abunde
Mensura posthac Cyprum ubi contigero.

2. The Dübner-Coungny note (v. 3) says " $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$, ut paucos, quod significat et $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\iota$." This note is no help; if, in the light of $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\theta\mu\omicron\nu$), $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ implies "few," then in the light of $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ (and $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\omega$) $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\rho\omega$ ought to imply "small." Such meanings would produce nonsense.

3. Liddell and Scott s.v. $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\theta\mu\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ say "opposed to $\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\eta\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ " and cite this passage from Aristotle.

4. Observe that Flaccus' own words include ἀριθμῶ but not πεντάκι διακοσίους. It is the epigrammatist who tells us how many solecisms Flaccus sent. Flaccus did not know how many he sent.

5. In neither the Planudean nor the Palatine textual tradition is there any evidence for a different number in place of πεντάκι διακοσίους or, as it is sometimes written πεντάκις διακοσίους. It must be observed, however, that neither form is metrically proper. Even if the phrase is a corruption (created by continued misunderstanding

of the epigram or by any other cause), still any number larger than seven would support the interpretation offered in this paper. If either πεντάκι or διακοσίους is correct the number would be sufficiently large.

6. The way in which ἀριθμῶ and μέτρον define each other can be demonstrated in English thus. The sentence "I am a poor mathematician" means, in all probability, "I have no great command of mathematics." But the sentence "He is a rich biologist; I am a poor mathematician" implies "I am impecunious."

MENTEM MORTALIA TANGUNT

Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt (Vergil *Aen.* 1. 462). This line, which has occasioned so much comment by scholars, teachers, and editors, is one of Vergil's most poignant expressions of his "sadness at the doubtful doom of human kind."¹ Sidgwick calls it a "beautiful and untranslatable line" yet proposes a fine rendering of it:

There are tears for trouble, and human sorrows touch the heart.²

He cites the verse as an example of Vergil's "tenderness and pathos, . . . sympathy and insight into life."³ As is known, the line is spoken by Aeneas as he recognizes the scenes portrayed in the pictures which adorn Dido's temple to Juno, under construction at the time of the hero's arrival at Carthage (*Aen.* 1. 446-93). He first sees the battles around Troy depicted in their proper sequence, then the Atridae, then Priam, then Achilles (*ibid.*, 456-58). He is overcome by emotion and before continuing the examination of the pictures, bursts into tears, asking Achates if there is any place on earth which the story of the Trojan War has not reached (*ibid.*, 459-60). Apparently looking once again at the picture of Priam, he exclaims:

*En Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi,
sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt* [*ibid.*, 461-62].

Vergil's words *et mentem mortalia tangunt* here bear a striking resemblance to a line in the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus, i.e.:

πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἤπαρ (*Ag.* 432).

which may be translated:

indeed many things touch the heart.

An examination of the context in the *Agamemnon* reveals an atmosphere of the same sort of "tenderness . . . pathos . . . sympathy and insight into life" as is found in the Vergilian passage, although, of course, the sufferers in this case are Greeks. The chorus, on learning of the impending return of Agamemnon (*Ag.* 264-350), recalls the cause of the Trojan War, tells of Paris' abduction of Helen, and recounts the toils and heartaches bequeathed to the Greeks by the wife of Menelaus as she flew to Troy with her lover (*Ag.* 399-431). The passage contains a fine description of Menelaus' yearning for his wife (*Ag.* 410-26), and then shifts to the grief felt by all the Greek families which sent soldiers to the battlefields of Troy:

At hearths within the homes are woes like these

And heavier still than these. For generally,
From the homes of each of those who went
from Greece

A heart-distressing grief stands forth conspicuous,⁴

and then the line:

πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἤπαρ (*Ag.* 432).

It is not the intention of the present note to insist that Vergil is echoing Aeschylus in his *mentem mortalia tangunt*, and yet the neat correspondence of θιγγάνει and *tangunt*, and that of ἤπαρ and *mentem* are certainly remarkable.⁵

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NOTES

1. Alfred Lord Tennyson, "To Virgil," *The Poetic and Dramatic Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson* (Student's Cambridge Edition, ed. W. J. Rolfe [New York, 1898]), p. 511, stanza VI.

2. A. Sidgwick, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera* (Cambridge, Vol. I [1922]; Vol. II [1927]), II, 156, note on *Aen.* 1. 462.

3. *Ibid.*, I, Introduction, 15, to which Sidgwick refers the reader in his note on *Aen.* 1. 462 cited in note 2 above.

4. *Ag.* 427-31. The above poetic translation of this passage, which presents some difficulties of interpretation, is that of Epps and may be found in his revised edition of George Howe and Gustave Adolphus Harrer, *Greek Literature in Translation* (New York, 1948), p. 308, lines 13-16.

5. The concept of human sorrow as the lot of all, to be shared and suffered by mankind generally, appears frequently in Greek literature. Cf. Eur. *El.* 290-91: αἰσθησὶς γὰρ οὖν / καὶ τῶν θεοῦ τῶν πημάτων δάσκει βροτούς, and *Andr.* 421-22: οἰκτὰ γὰρ τὰ δυστυχῆ / βροτοῖς ἔπασσι, καὶν θεοῦτος ὦν κυρῆ. Similarly, Terence was probably translating a line of Menander's in the *Hauton*. 77: *Homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto*. In Latin, in addition to the Vergilian passage under scrutiny, compare, for example, Juv. 15. 140-42: *Quis... ulla aliena sibi credit mala?*

PHILOSTRATUS AND LIBANIUS

In an article published some years ago,¹ Pack put forward a suggested explanation for the similarity between the greeting of Marcus Aurelius to Aelius Aristides, as related in Philostratus (*VS* 2. 9 [pp. 582-83]: "πότε" ἔφη "ἀκροάσομαι σου;" καὶ ὁ Ἀριστείδης "τῆμερον" εἶπεν "πρόβαλε καὶ αὐριον ἀκροῶ· οὐ γὰρ ἔσμεν τῶν ἐμούντων,") with that of Julian to Libanius nearly two hundred years later (*Liban. Or.* 1. 120: καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν δὴ τῶν ὄρων ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης ὄψεως πρώτον τοῦτο ἐφθέγγετο· "πότε ἀκουσόμεθα;").²

Pack's suggestion is that in the latter pair there can be assumed a conscious, though tacit, willingness "to preserve the resemblance by behaving appropriately in a similar situation." That this conscious relationship is little more than assumption is indicated in an appended note: "Oddly enough, Libanius nowhere mentions Marcus, and Julian is equally silent about Aristides; each adhered strictly to his own role." It is upon this foundation that a theory of an elaborate quadrilateral relationship between the two sophists and the two emperors is based.

In addition, Pack notes that the relationship may be extended beyond these two pairs to yet another, for Herodes Atticus is said to have greeted Polemon in terms even more like those of Marcus (*Phil. VS* 1. 25 [p. 537]). The explanation which Pack gives of the relationship between this pair, the first in time of the three, to Marcus and Aristides is a very attractive one. Aristides, an orator of a very different

outlook from Polemon, is here reacting against those features in the other which he most dislikes, and his one desire is to outdo him. This however has nothing to do with the question of the alleged parallelism between him and Libanius.

Pack also attempts to forestall a criticism which involves the question of date, and here he is less convincing. Libanius, in this part of his autobiography, was writing in A.D. 374. The event here described took place in 362. Pack seems to assume that, in view of the similarity of attitude shown by Libanius in the *Autobiography* and Aristides in the *Ἱεροὶ λόγοι*, and also of Libanius' known interest in the works of Aristides in the years 360-65, therefore the influence of Aristides, still as strong in 374, spurs him on to a conscious desire to emulate his predecessor, in his dealings with the emperor. This inference would seem to be more than doubtful. It takes little notice of any possible development in Libanius' interests in those years. Moreover, even if it be admitted that Libanius' notion of such a parallelism is possible in 374, there is little or no confirmation of its existence, since the evidence of Libanius' letters and speeches then is particularly thin. If retrojected to 362, this idea, if it ever existed, should find some confirmation in the works of both Julian and Libanius, but in fact this is precisely the time when no mention of it occurs in either.

Taken alone, the similarity of these passages should bear no weightier a burden of inference than that in 374 Libanius

knew his Philostratus. Indeed, from other indications in the *Autobiography*, I believe this to have been the case. There are reminiscences, occurring in that portion of *Oration 1* which was written by 374, which recall the language and circumstances of Philostratus' account of the relationship between Herodes and Polemon.

Similarities of language in such writers as these may well be regarded as accidental, and nothing more than stock phraseology for the adornment of a sophistic commonplace, but the cumulative effect of examples in Libanius, both of language and of situation, which to some extent resemble those found in the *Lives*, and in the account of Herodes and Polemon in particular, is worthy of note.

1. Phil. *VS* 1. 24 (p. 529): μελετήσας δὲ καὶ μελετῶντος ἀκροασάμενος καὶ ἐθαυμάσθη καὶ ἐθαύμασεν, is echoed, in somewhat similar situation, in Liban. *Or.* 1. 30: τοῦτων οὐδὲν φαυλότερα τῶν τῆ Κωνσταντινουπόλει πολλῶν ἀπανταχόθεν παιδεία διαφερόντων ἐνεῖσε μετοικούντων, οἱ ἐπήρουν τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπηνοῦντο.

2. Phil. *VS* 1. 25 (p. 539): ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Πολέμων τὰ μὲν τῶν καταλογάδην ὥμοις δεῖν ἐκφέρειν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀμάξαις. . . finds its echo in Libanius' account of the arrival of Crispinus at Nicomedeia (*Or.* 1. 54: ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης σωρούς ἐφ' ἀμάξης ἦκεν ἄγων βιβλίων). Here, I believe, the connection of thought contains a play upon words from ἐκφέρειν το σωρούς and so to σωρούς and ἀμάξης.

3. In the *Lives* there are examples of members of the sophist's household or relatives being thunderstruck (e.g., 1. 21 [p. 516]; 2. 1 [p. 560]), and of these sophists Herodes himself is one. Libanius here outdoes Philostratus. He personally suffers from this affliction, not once but twice, (*Or.* 1. 9-10 and 77). There are communications with Asclepius in the *Lives*, both by sleeping and waking visions (e.g., 1. 25 [p. 535]; 2. 4 [p. 568]). Polemon is one of these communicants, though a most irreverent one. Libanius has recourse to this fairly common method of obtaining relief from his ailments, but in a manner much more pious and devout (*Or.* 1. 143).

These, by themselves, might be dismissed as merely stray coincidences. There are however three occasions in which Libanius describes the scenes of his greatest triumphs during the twenty years since his return to Antioch, and all provide parallels of situation with passages which occur within two pages in the *Lives*.

The first of these concerns the occasion of Libanius' arrival in Antioch, during his short visit in 353. Here he tells of his outstanding success in a declamation given in the Town Hall. He describes with much gusto his remarkable feeling of confidence, which was all the more noteworthy in contrast with the nervousness of his uncle, Phasganius, who introduced him to the expert judgment of his countrymen (*Or.* 1. 88: τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ με εἰσάγοντος τρέμοντος μειδιῶν τε αὐτὸς εἰπόμεν θάρσος ἐμβαλοῦσης τῆς Τύχης καὶ βλέπων εἰς τὸν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς τὰ ὄπλα, ἑτερπόμεν).

There is here a noticeable affinity with Philostratus' account of Polemon's attitude of exuberant confidence in his declamations, this account being itself a quotation from a letter of Herodes to Varus (*VS* 1. 25 [p. 537]: παρῆι μὲν ἐς τὰς ἐπιδειξείας διακχυμένῳ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τεθαρρηκότι).

The second great triumph of Libanius' art occurred during the prefecture of Strategius. Here Libanius could also congratulate himself upon having circumvented the machinations of his rival, Eubulus, who sought to discredit him by a mixture of bribery and plagiarism. For the panegyric upon Strategius Libanius insisted that the prefect should attend his exposition in the Town Hall at Antioch. It was a remarkable and unprecedented occurrence when Strategius consented, for since Libanius had set up his class there, he so consented to appear on Libanius' home ground. Even more noteworthy was the fact that, owing to the length of the speech, he had to put in three appearances there — a tribute to the powers of endurance of both (Liban. *Or.* 1. 112: ὁ δὲ καὶ δὴ παρῆν, δεομένου δὲ τοῦ μήκους αὐθις αὐτὸν παρεῖναι πάλιν παρῆν, δεομένου δὲ καὶ τρίς, οὐδὲ τότε ἀπῆν. καὶ νῦν τοῦτο ἄδεται παρὰ

πάντων, τίς καὶ τίνας καὶ τί καὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀκήκοε).

With this there may be compared Philostratus' story of the attendance of Herodes upon Polemon at Smyrna. There is the same resounding success and the same number of attendances mentioned. Once again Philostratus quotes from a letter of Herodes (*VS* 1. 25 [p. 537]: ἀκροᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν πρώτην, ὡς οἱ δικάζοντες, τὴν δὲ ἐφεξῆς, ὡς οἱ ἐρῶντες, τὴν δὲ τρίτην, ὡς οἱ θαυμάζοντες· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ξυγγενέσθαι οἱ).

The last of the three is the passage of Libanius which began this discussion (*Or.* 1. 120), the greeting of Julian, emperor, philosopher, and orator to Libanius the sophist. With it may be compared the passage from Philostratus (*VS* 1. 25 [p. 537]), where Herodes, then unacquainted with Polemon and the holder of a high official appointment, goes to Smyrna with the express intention of attending his lectures (κατὰ χρόνους οὐς τὰς ἐλευθέρας τῶν πόλεων αὐτὸς διωρθούτο, περιβαλὼν δὲ καὶ ὑπερασπασάμενος. . . "πότε" εἶπεν "ὦ πάτερ, ἀκροασόμεθά σου;" . . . ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν πλασάμενος "τῆμερον" ἔφη "ἀκροῶ, καὶ ἴωμεν").

The inference I would wish to draw from this parallelism is that, at the time of writing this part of the *Autobiography*, Libanius had gained a very thorough knowledge of the *Lives*, and that he did not hesitate to draw upon it for his own account. I would suggest that the formative period of Aristides' influence upon Libanius was now ended. By this time, the style and outlook of Libanius were not consciously influenced by his previous admiring studies in the works of his predecessor. It cannot be denied that the influence of Aristides is still traceable. There is a common element to this pair of neurotics, as Libanius' morbid interest in his symptoms, ailments and cures would show. Yet this assimilation of outlook to that of Aristides in the *Ἱεροὶ λόγοι* is not now a matter of conscious effort. In the story of his triumphs during his professional career in Antioch, it seems to me rather that he deliberately adapts his own situation to

those which he found described in the *Lives*. His primary purpose is to show in himself that attainment of the height of sophistic achievement in exactly the same way as it is shown in the manual of sophistic deportment, the *Lives* of Philostratus. The parallelism is deeper and more consistent than a consideration of the parallel greetings alone would warrant. In all three cases, the common factor is that a man of high intellectual gifts, who stands high in the world of government, addresses a scholar and teacher in terms of humble reverence and affection. Granted that Aristides' intention was deliberately to outdo Polemon, Libanius' purpose in 374 is to show himself as the equal of the great sophists of the past and the heir of the sophistic tradition. The accident of Julian's admiring greeting in 362, whether it ever took place in the way which Libanius describes or not, is the necessary corroborative detail to provide artistic verisimilitude to his narrative, and it is made to fit in with a conflation of success stories derived from Philostratus.

His story is a glorification of rhetors and the rhetorical training, and is important in showing the development of Libanius' attitude of mind. This part of *Oration* 1 is the one piece of evidence we possess for his views in the middle years of Valens' reign. The glamour of the Julian revival is now a thing of the past, but he is still content to defend his profession and its traditions by exalting them, using the evidence of his own career. His attitude is still that of passive defense — a halfway stage. By 380, when he produced *Oration* 2, he had tasted of so much disillusion that he is ready to launch an attack in defense of his ideals. His defense of traditional rhetoric and his views upon society then come to consist of a free and frank criticism of the weaknesses of the new order.

It might also follow that the *Lives* had, in the fourth century, become a standard work of reference for the public and private behavior of sophists in the conduct of their profession. With regard to Libanius, this may well be the case, for in 374, at the

time of the composition of his success story, nothing would be more natural than that he should refer to the authoritative work in this field of biography. This must be the *Lives*, and the sophists whose lives are treated with the greatest detail are Herodes and Polemon. Hence, whether the parallels noted are parallels of fact or largely due to Libanius' own inventiveness, it would be equally natural for him to draw upon such a narrative, especially in view of the fact that the evidence offered by Philostratus is very well authenticated.

It may also be noted in this connection, that Eunapius, writing his own *Lives of the Sophists* some years after Libanius' death, recognises the unique position which Philostratus holds in this particular field of biography. At the beginning of his work (p. 454), after citing his predecessors in the writing of biographies of philosophers, he can cite only Philostratus for the biography of sophists. Even so, he rejects the methods of Philostratus as being too superficial for his purpose: Φιλίστρατος ὁ Λήμιος τοὺς

τῶν ἀρίστων σοφιστῶν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς μετὰ χάριτος παρέπτυσε βίους.

Himerius, too, is another who may have had an acquaintance with the work of Philostratus. At any rate, a passage of Pollux of Naucratis, quoted verbatim in the *Lives* (2. 12 [p. 593]), seems to be developed in Himerius (*Or.* 21. 9: δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ὁ Πρωτεύς σοφιστῆς τις τοὺς λόγους δεινὸς γενόμενος... ὁ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Πρωτεύς ὡς πυρσὸς ἀπτεται, ὡς ὕδωρ λύεται, ὡς λέων βρυχᾶται, ὡς δένδρον ὀρθοῦται καὶ τέθηλεν).

It is strange that Eunapius should in this way reject the methods of Philostratus, and at the same time treat with scant respect two of the sophists who in the fourth century provide some evidence of acquaintance with his work. The fact remains, however, that Eunapius in his *Lives*, whether for this reason or from devotion to Prohaeresius, his old teacher and their rival, shows a marked bias against Libanius, and dismisses Himerius with the briefest possible notice.

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NOTES

1. "Two Sophists and Two Emperors," *CP*, XLII (1947), 17-20.

2. References to Libanius are given according to the Teubner text; those to Philostratus according to Olearius' pagination.

CYPRIAN *δοφέναι* AND *δωφάνοι*¹

Although Hoffmann and other scholars at the end of the last century exhibited great confidence in their own explanations of the peculiarities of *δοφέναι* and *δωφάνοι* on the Idalium Bronze,² more recent scholars have been cautious about committing themselves to either of the two general theories worked out by their predecessors.

Boisacq, after arriving at an IE stem *dō-, *dē- 'give' s.v. *δίδωμι*, has collected in a concise note the limited and scattered evidence from the various IE languages which gave rise to the two current theories of either (1) an IE by-form *dōw-, or (2) a suffix *-wen-. This is followed by a convenient bibliography.³

In his note, Boisacq indicates no pre-

ference for either of these theories, nor does Thumb, "Zu *δοφέναι* gehören die Präsensbildungen (Optative) *δωφάνοι* und *δόκοι* (60). Ob man das *F* zur Wurzel oder zum Suffix ziehen soll, ist zweifelhaft..."⁴ Whereas Thumb implies that the *F* of both forms is to be explained in the same way, Buck is more cautious. Of *δωφάνοι* he says, "Cypr. *δωφάνοι* (cf. Lat. *duim*), *δώκω* = *δίδωμι* (from *έδωκα*, cf. *στήκω* N. Test.)"⁵ where the parallel of *duim* implies *dōw-.⁶ But this is questionable since the zero-grade of *dōw- ought to be *dēw-, rather than *dw- (*doHw-: *dHw-, not *dw-), and this would give us *δαυ- rather than δω-. For *δοφέναι* Buck seems to prefer the *-wen- explanation, but admits the pos-

sibility of the other, "Att.- Ion. (also Arc.-Cyp.) -vαi, in part -ενvαi and -Fενvαi (?). Thus... δοῦvαi from *dōevαi, Cyp. δοFένvαi. This last (cf. Vedic *dāvāne*) is probably to be analyzed as δοFένvαi, but possibly as δοF-ένvαi (cf. L. *duim*, etc., 383)."⁷

That δοFένvαi should be analyzed as δοFένvαi seems now almost certain on the basis of the Hittite w:m correlation; "Many IE infinitives are case forms of nouns containing the suffix -wer/n- or -mer/n-; e.g. Ved. *dāvane* = Cyp. δοFένvαi 'to give'; Av. *staomaine* 'to praise', Hom. δόμεvαi, Thess. δόμεv 'to give'. "⁸

Having seen the difficulty involved in deriving δοFάνοι from an IE *dōw-, which now as a result of the explanation based on Hittite for δοFένvαi and Vedic *dāvāne* has become even less well-attested, we must seek to explain δοFάνοι in some other way. The indisputable IE root is *dō-, *dā-, which in Greek often has the alternation δo-.⁹ Taking this latter we may note that Greek /o/ is known to be [o], and that in Arcado-Cyprian unaccented o becomes υ, at least orthographically.¹⁰

With δo- thus accounted for we are faced with at least two possibilities to account for -Fαν-. First, we could bring up to date the old *-wen- theory which did

not meet with so much favor from later scholars as the *dōw- theory did. Briefly, -Fαν- could be from *-wṇ-, the zero-grade of *-wen-. Thus δοFένvαi and δοFάνοι would both have the same root δo-, and the same suffix *-wen- (with difference of gradation). To this explanation of δοFάνοι one could object that morphologically the suffix *-wen-: *-men- is not to be expected in a non-nominal form, and that in Greek the suffix -αν- (as in ἀμαρτ-άν-ω) is so productive that one is led to look for an explanation of this word analyzed as δοF-άνοι or δοF-άνοι.

For this latter analysis the following explanation is submitted: to δo- we may add the suffix -αν-, giving us δο-αν- in writing, whatever its phonemic status might be. This would give rise to the F-glide commonly found in Cyprian inscriptions,¹¹ thus resulting in δοF-αν-.

A great advantage of this explanation is that it rests on the known internal peculiarities of the Cyprian dialect; and an important consequence, that δοFάνοι along with δοFένvαi (and Vedic *dāvāne*) can no longer be used as reliable evidence for the supposition of an at best ill-attested and uneconomical IE *dōw-.

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NOTES

1. At the outset I wish to express my indebtedness to Mr. Eric Hamp of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Chicago for his encouragement and help during the preparation of this paper.

2. H. Collitz and F. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* (Göttingen, 1884 —), No. 60, lines 5 and 6; or, C. D. Buck, *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* (Boston, 1928), No. 19, lines 5 and 6.

3. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Heidelberg, 1938), p. 186, n. 2.

4. A. Thumb, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* (Heidelberg, 1909), p. 296.

5. Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

6. C. D. Buck, *Comparative Grammar of Greek and Latin* (Chicago, 1948), p. 276: "Early L. subj. *duim*,

rarely *duam*, are from a collateral form of the root, namely *dōu-, *dou- (cf. Umbr. *pur-douitu* 'porricito', Lith. *daviau* 'I gave'), whence *du-* (110.5) first in compounds like *perduim*."

7. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

8. E. H. Sturtevant and E. A. Hahn, *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, I (New Haven, 1951), 74; for the w:m correlation, see p. 44; cf. the first edition (Philadelphia, 1933), pp. 114f.

9. M. Lejeune, *Traité de phonétique grecque* (Paris, 1947), pp. 164 and 173ff.

10. See Thumb, *op. cit.*, p. 289 and Buck, *Greek Dialects*, p. 25.

11. See Thumb, *op. cit.*, p. 291 and Lejeune, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

"KINSMAN OF THE GODS?"

Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries gave to those who participated in the rites the assurance of a blessed state in the after-life, and this blessedness, however at different times it may have been conceived,

finds repeated mention in the ancient texts, from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Pindar, and Sophocles, on down through the ages. The theological basis for the belief, however, is nowhere clearly and ex-

PLICITLY stated, and modern scholars have debated the question long and endlessly without arriving at any generally accepted conclusions.

Since the cult never altogether lost sight of its original and primary concern with agriculture, and specifically with the cultivation of man's chief staple, the cereal grains, those interpretations which take this fact into account and base the belief on the analogy between the cycle of human life and the continually renewed life of the grain, would seem to be most securely founded. It has even been suggested that in its earliest and most exact form the analogy would refer only to the continued life of the family or clan; however this may be, by the seventh century, at the latest, the individual had appropriated this hope and promise to himself and to his own growing aspirations. The steps of this development we cannot trace, though it is not difficult to imagine how it might arise out of the agricultural symbolism. To some scholars, however, this has not seemed sufficient and they have attempted on the basis of the later testimonia of the cult to elaborate and clarify the underlying thought.

In particular the ritual formula ascribed by Clement of Alexandria¹ to the Eleusinian Mysteries, "I fasted, I drank the *kykeon*, I took from the case, and, having wrought, I put away into the basket and from the basket into the case," has been interpreted as including references to mimetic acts of a sexual nature. Dieterich suggested that the unexpressed object of the ritual manipulations was a phallus, while Körte argued, perhaps more appropriately, that it was a representation of the female *pudendum*, and that the purpose of the rite was to signify a ritual rebirth.² Thus, whether through the symbolic act of sexual union or of rebirth as a child of the goddess, the worshipper would bridge the gulf that normally separated men and gods and might aspire to a true immortality, akin at least to that enjoyed by the gods themselves. These interpretations are ingenious and have won some adherents, but in the present state of our knowledge it

cannot be said that they are more than conjectures, — quite apart from the question of Clement's reliability here as a witness. Moreover, if authentic, the formula must almost certainly be referred to the preliminaries performed before a man entered the Telesterion,³ and it cannot therefore properly be taken as evidence for the central act and significance of the τελετή itself.

Actually, it is doubtful if we are even entitled to speak of immortality (in its proper Greek sense) in connection with the Mysteries of Eleusis. Guthrie, in his valuable study of classical Greek religion, has recently reminded us afresh that in normative Greek thought of the early period immortality and divinity are inseparably linked together.⁴ From Homer on down ἀθάνατος appears as a virtual synonym for θεός, and it presumably always carried some connotations of a status that was in some sense divine. True, there were Greeks, even before the Hellenistic age, who asserted man's claim to immortality and to divinity, and Guthrie effectively focuses his entire study upon this double aspect of man's relationship to the gods, and upon these two opposing currents in Greek religious thought. Guthrie holds, moreover, that the promise of immortality, in this sense, was implicit in the Eleusinian cult. Yet it should be observed that the key word in the early texts is always εὐβίος, "blessed," not ἀθάνατος, "immortal." There was of course large freedom for the individual to interpret the experience of initiation in the light of his own understanding, and it would be futile to deny that this or that *pious mystes* might to his own satisfaction have enlarged the content which the word εὐβίος would normally suggest. We, however, are not entitled to go beyond the evidence in order to explain the appeal of the Great Mysteries, and above all we should be chary of reading back into this earlier time ideas which are attested only for a later period or for other cults, or which are alien to the original genius of the Mysteries.

There is, however, one text, the pseudo-

Platonic *Axiochus*, which, though admittedly later,⁵ does seem to lend specific support to the views advanced by Guthrie. The dialogue as a whole argues for a belief in immortality, and in one critical passage it contains an explicit reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries. This passage, therefore, must be carefully examined.

Socrates, after "scientifically" locating the underworld realm of Plouton in the lower half of the celestial sphere (371 A-C), proceeds to describe the abode of the pious (τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν χώρον) in glowing terms which derive in part from both *Odyssey* 6. 41-47, and Pindar *Ol.* 2. 61-67. He continues (371 D): "There the initiated have a special place of honour (προεδρία), and there too the holy ceremonies are performed. You therefore will surely be the first to share the privilege, being as you are a kinsman of the gods (πῶς οὖν οὐ σοὶ πρώτῳ μέτεστι τῆς τιμῆς, ὅντι γεννήτη τῶν θεῶν;). Dionysos also and Herakles and those who went down with them to Hades are said to have been first initiated here [i.e. at Athens], and to have drawn courage for their journey from the goddess of Eleusis" (Guthrie's translation, pp. 292-93). The significant phrase is that which is here rendered as "kinsman of the gods," and while Guthrie admits that it did not always signify initiation, but might be used to indicate that a man was a full citizen and a member of one of the *phratries*, he argues that as employed here in connection with the Mysteries it shows that the initiate considered himself as "adopted by Demeter" or "adopted into the family of the gods."

Rohde was clearly right in asserting that in the given context *Axiochus* is designated as a γεννήτης τῶν θεῶν "weil und insofern er zu den μεμνημένοι gehört," as against Wilamowitz, to whom *Axiochus*, simply through membership in the *genos* of the *Eupatridai*, was "wirklich Geschlechtsgenosse der Götter, weil er von Götterblut ist, von echtem Adel."⁶ The particular force of πρώτῳ is, as Rohde observed, not made clear in the text and can only be guessed at,⁷ but he was able to

adduce the passages in *Isaeus* (7. 13, 15, 17, 43), where on adoption a man is inscribed εἰς τοὺς γεννήτας of his adopted father, in support of his contention that initiation was "eine symbolische Adoption durch die Gottheiten, eine Andeutung oder Darstellung des Eintrittes in das göttliche γένος."

The phrase is, in any case, unusual, and in its exact form apparently unparalleled. γεννήτης, as distinguished from γεννητής, is the relatively rare singular of γεννηται.⁸ As used here it has evidently caused the translators some qualms: Feddersen ("der du doch ein Stammverwandter der Götter bist"), Souilhé ("toi l'allié des dieux"), and Chambry ("toi qui es apparenté aux dieux"), though all in essential agreement with Rohde, have each felt it needful to comment on the expression.⁹ Foucart,¹⁰ on the other hand, translates without comment: "toi qui es un des fidèles des Déesses." Though apparently less literal, Foucart alone, I believe, has caught the essential meaning of the Greek.

The expression which most closely approximates that of the *Axiochus* is found in Demosthenes 57. 67: Ἀπόλλωνος πατρώου καὶ Διὸς ἐρκείου γεννηται. The genitives here are at first sight curious, but we may rule out at once any implications of a mystical relationship to the gods or of adoption by them. Rather, a particular *genos*, to which the speaker claims to belong, is identified by reference to its cult of Apollo Patroos and Zeus Herkeios.¹¹ The cogency of the solemn words makes it unnecessary to go on to state the obvious fact that participation in this cult would be open only to members of the *genos*, and conversely, would provide proof presumptive of such membership. Now the genitive modifier in γεννήτης τῶν θεῶν seems to be exactly parallel, and it should be understood in the light of the example from Demosthenes. Socrates has already stated that all who have been initiated are to enjoy certain prerogatives. What remains to be shown is not the theological reason for this, but simply that *Axiochus* belongs in this class. The phrase ὄντι γεννήτη τῶν θεῶν, by borrowing from another sphere

what is essentially a technical expression, puts the case strongly. The *μεμυημένοι* did not, of course, constitute a *γένος* in the political or social sense, but like the Athenian *γεννηταί* they might be thought of as a grouping distinguished from other men by the fact of participation in certain rites. This point established, Socrates then goes on to bolster up the courage of Axiochus, again not by a theological argument, but by an *exemplum* drawn from mythology.¹²

All this may seem to depend on a strained interpretation of the word *γεννηταί*, which is, after all, built up from *γέννα*, is used of the members of a *γένος*, and looks as if it ought to mean "kinsmen." Actually, however, the ancient lexicographers were well aware that it did not necessarily connote a relationship either of blood or by adoption. Harpocration (*s.v.*) notes that though Isaeus equated it with *συγγενεῖς*, yet it was not "the kinsmen strictly and men linked by blood who were called *gennetai* and members of the same *genos*, but those who from the beginning were distributed among the so-called *gene*." The comment of the *Etymologicum Magnum* on the word is even more startlingly relevant to our discussion: "Their relationship is not a matter of family or of the same blood, but just as men were called *demotai* or *phratores* because they shared a community of observances, so likewise the *gennetai* were designated from their joint participation in kin rites and deities." Not only then was the kinship of the several families within a *genos* fictional, but this fiction was recognized and acknowledged for what it was.¹³

At the very least we may say that the primary emphasis of the word as employed at Athens was on the fact of membership in the group, not on the apparent but largely fictional kinship, and that as used

with a genitive of divine names, it would carry the sense of a group centered on this or that cult, not that of a relationship, natural or by adoption, with the gods named. This fully satisfies the needs of the *Axiochus* passage: "Certain privileges are granted to those who have been initiated. You have every reason to look forward to a share in these privileges, since you are one of this band of men, the worshippers of the Eleusinian goddesses. As you face the journey to the other world, take courage from the example of those initiates of old, even Herakles and Dionysos, who went before."

This, I take it, is all that the passage was meant to suggest, and all that we are justified in reading into it. The author of the dialogue had indicated earlier his own belief in the immortality of the soul and restates this belief after completing the description of the underworld in which is embedded the reference to the Eleusinian Mysteries. How precisely he would have defined the connection between the Mysteries and the doctrine of immortality is not made clear. Indeed, taken by itself the account of the underworld would hardly suggest a true immortality so much as the state of blessedness which the Mysteries had promised in earlier times. This question, however, is of little real importance. For however the promise was now conceived, whether merely as a more happy lot among the shades of the dead, or as an immortality that was quasi-divine, the *Axiochus* lends no support to those who would read into the Mysteries doctrines of kinship with the gods or of adoption into the divine family. Least of all can it be taken as a clue to the original significance of the Eleusinian cult.

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NOTES

1. *Protr.* 2. 21. 2.

2. A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (Leipzig, 1903), pp. 125ff.; A. Körte, *ARW*, XVIII (1915), 116-26. For a critical survey of these and similar views see O. Kern, *RE*, XVI (1935), 1238-39, *s.v.* "Mysterien"; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 79-83; M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. griech. Religion*, I (Munich, 1941), 623-25.

3. For this point I am indebted to Professor A. D. Nock.

4. W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* (London, 1950), especially chap. iii.

5. J. Souilhé, the Budé editor (*Platon*, XIII² [Paris, 1930], 135), considers the author an Academic of the first century *a.c.* Nilsson, *op. cit.*, II (Munich, 1950), 229, speaks for an early Hellenistic date.

6. E. Rohde, *Psyche* 5 & 6 (Tübingen, 1910), pp. 422-23; Willamowitz, *GGA*, 1895, p. 984, n. 1.

7. The word is especially puzzling as Axiochus had been implicated along with Alcibiades, his nephew, in the scandalous profanation of the Mysteries. I can only suggest that after his return from exile he may have made his peace with the goddesses by redoubled zeal, but this is no more than a guess.

8. Strangely enough, the singular is not recorded in *LS*³ though in addition to our present passage it occurs in Demosthenes (59. 59) and in Menander *Colax*, frag. 5 (Koerte).

9. H. Feddersen, *Über den pseudoplatonischen Dialog Axiochus* (Cuxhaven, 1895), p. 6; Souilhé, *op. cit.*, p. 148; E. Chambry, *Platon*, VIII (Paris, n. d.), 264; 423, n. 141.

10. P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis* (Paris, 1914), p. 365.

11. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII (1938), 30-33, for a discussion of these cults in relation to the Attic *gene*.

12. However tempting at first sight, it is, I think, impossible to identify τῶν θεῶν with Herakles and Dionysos who are mentioned immediately afterwards (Axiochus as a member of the same club as H. and D.!). Except for Stobaeus the connecting word is simply καί, not καί γάρ and in any case the line of development is rather that indicated above.

13. See Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, on whom I have drawn freely for my translations of the lexicographers.

14. A paper read at the eighty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association, at Cleveland, Ohio, December 30, 1952.

BOOK REVIEWS

From Homer to Menander: Forces in Greek Poetic Fiction. By L. A. Post. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1951. Pp. 333. \$3.75.

Apart from the standard histories of Greek literature, the past generation has seen the publication of a number of works of large scope which have attempted to trace in the surviving texts some kind of unifying pattern, artistic or intellectual. Thus L. Campbell, E. Caird, J. Adam, and L. R. Farnell considered religious ideas, W. Jaeger the formulation of educational principles, B. Snell and M. Pohlenz the emergence of personality, J. A. K. Thomson the spirit of irony, Miss Macurdy the "quality of mercy"; still others have been concerned with such themes as fate; or, like G. Murray, H. D. F. Kitto, Sir Maurice Bowra, and G. Thomson, have found in single literary forms or authors a controlling idea or relationship to social forces. All of these scholars had to resist a natural temptation to oversimplify their problems by slanting the evidence to conform with a preconceived notion; none of their works should be taken as a wholly rounded interpretation of the rich and varied materials which they severally interpret, though all have contributed to the total picture.

Professor Post's Sather lectures, given at the University of California in 1948 and now published in revised form, will take a high place not only among the other volumes of a distinguished series but among the works that seek to find an unfolding pattern in Greek literature. The pattern that he describes is to be found in the imaginative view of life and action which he conveniently terms "poetic fiction." It is to be traced in Homer, in tragedy, and in Menander; it has both aesthetic and moral aspects; it is revealed more in plot and character than in gnomic sayings. Yet it has its philosophic aspect;

indeed Post sees his theme much of the time through the eyes of Aristotle, to whom he refers both *passim* and in his important concluding chapter, but with decided reservations about the adequacy of Aristotle as a critic of "poetic fiction."

A major Aristotelian distinction, utilized throughout, is that between "ethical" and "tragic" plots. It is therefore necessary to realize that the elusive word *ethos* means for Aristotle and other Greeks (and for Post) a good deal more than any single dictionary equivalent: it has moral and social overtones, and implies "good" or normal character. An "ethical" plot therefore ends happily, with the "success" of good characters, who enlist our sympathy, in a sort of "poetic justice." By contrast, a "tragic" plot includes painful examples of *pathos*, and ends with the "defeat" of an essentially "good" hero. (On these matters, Post has good remarks, especially in pages 13-15, 70, 89, 137, 157, 172-75, 193, 204, 207, 215f., 251, 299, n. 5, and 319, n. 14). Not that the distinction is so simple as that between comedy and tragedy, for there are serious treatments of life in comedy, and there are burlesque versions of tragedy; and the introduction of recognitions and peripety, of irony and psychological elaboration, to say nothing of propaganda, plays havoc with rigid pigeonholing. Nevertheless the notion of "success" and "defeat" is useful as a thread running through the labyrinth.

With his frame of reference thus established, Post surveys the emergence of the main forces in Greek poetic fiction. Though I must confine my remarks here to a brief recognition of some of his chief points, I may begin by observing that he has a gift of generalized statement in pithy form; frequently he challenges the reader by reminding him of truths already known but often forgotten, or by shrewd, almost

epigrammatic *obiter dicta* which on reflection will probably be accepted as true. (Page 193: "The gods in Greek thought are more likely to represent things as they are than things as they ought to be." Cf. also pp. 81f., 86, and the fuller account of the gods in Homer, pp. 39-46). I may add that the documentation of these lectures is ample, and that the notes (pp. 273-322), which refer from time to time to previous articles by the author, as well as to many other writers, are full of meat. Several examples of his well-known skill in emendation of texts will be found there. An unusual feature, for a work on classical literature, is the frequent comparison with the literatures of India, China, and Japan; those who heard Post's presidential address before the American Philological Association will recall that he expounded the claims of "One World for Philology," and will ask themselves whether even students of comparative literature are sufficiently interested in the links between East and West.

It is not easy to discover why Post discusses the *Odyssey* before the *Iliad*, unless it is in order to begin with the great early exemplar of the ethical "success story," as he intends to conclude with its late counterpart in Menander. If the *Odyssey*, then, is an "ethical" success story, the *Iliad* is "tragic" in its story of the defeat of two men, Hector and Achilles, and is therefore a double tragedy. Moreover it includes, in the story of Achilles, a type of recognition or reversal which Aristotle ignores, and which may be called "psychological" (pp. 47-55). Aeschylus displays in his social consciousness both obvious similarities with Homer and marked differences, notably in his use of the gods. In general, Post finds Aeschylus concerned "to present examples of rational progress" (p. 87); his plays are "ethical," like the *Odyssey*, rather than "tragic," like the *Iliad* (p. 61). He denies that the *Persians* (p. 70), perhaps the *Seven* (p. 72), and the *Prometheus* (p. 78), are truly "tragic." Naturally the *Oresteia* lends itself to interpretation in terms of "conversion" and social progress;

yet there remain the tragic figures of Iphigeneia and Cassandra, and if "suffering teaches," it may be others than the "doer" who learn (p. 85; cf. p. 61). I agree that Aeschylus "makes of life a mystery" (p. 81); but does he precisely show "evil leading somehow to good" (p. 81)? Not, I take it, without "conversion."

Because Sophocles and Euripides not only overlap chronologically but also display changing and interacting dramatic tendencies, Post does well to arrange accordingly the four chapters that deal with them: these are entitled "Sophoclean Tragedy" (*Ajax*, *Antigone*, *Trachiniae*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*); "Euripidean Tragedy" (*Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Heracles*, *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, *Electra*, *Bacchae*); "Propaganda, Idealism, and Romance" (*Ion*, *Andromache*, *Suppliants*, *Heracleidae*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, the Sophoclean *Electra*); and "Vacillation, Burlesque, and Variety" (*Alcestis*, *Philoctetes*, *Helen*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, *Rhesus*). Post briefly discusses the statement of Sophocles, quoted by Plutarch, about the stages of his own dramatic career, with only partially conclusive results (pp. 89-91). (For a fuller development of this problem it is now possible to refer to C. H. Whitman, *Sophocles: A Study of Heroic Humanism* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951], not only pp. 42-55 but *passim*.) What is of immediate relevance here is to note, with Post, that *Ajax* and *Antigone* are tragedies of personal devotion to an ideal, within the frame of a political morality, and utilizing offended divinities, while the *Trachiniae* and *Oedipus Tyrannus* rely more on human psychology and paradoxical circumstance. (The remaining three plays of Sophocles, with happy endings, will be "ethical.") In *Ajax*, the ultimately beneficent result of Athena's action in making possible the rehabilitation of Ajax is slighted; in the balanced (but non-Hegelian) discussion of *Antigone*, I recognize poetic justice in the suffering of Creon (pp. 103f.), but hardly *onkos* (p. 105). The *Trachiniae* and *Oedipus Tyrannus*

nus exhibit a truly "tragic" plot, not justice but downfall through the ironies of time and chance; good intentions are not enough. Oedipus falls *as if* through external forces; but he really defeats himself, and he is unique in his self-recognition (pp. 116-19). If Sophocles is ever a pessimist, it is in these plays.

There is real tragedy in *Medea* and *Hippolytus*, plays of conflict and frustrated ideals, and in *Heracles*, a problem play showing the uncertainty and complications of life and hostile gods; but is "Heracles without a fault"? (p. 135; but p. 137: "brute success is not enough.") After *Hecuba* has contrasted civilization with barbarism, and the *Trojan Women* has employed irony in the service of pity, *Electra* exploits the "new theme of universal failure and universal pity," showing the "pathological rot" of all its weak and vacillating characters (p. 146), despite their claims of divine sanction. Drama is becoming decadent and sensational; and Sophocles parts company with Euripides after the *Oedipus Tyrannus*. Only once more does Euripides write real tragedy, in the *Bacchae*, a play of more terror than pity.

If pity and terror derive from the *Iliad*, political propaganda may be related to Athena's advice at the end of the *Odyssey*. So aid to suppliants and political idealism become important dramatic themes, with or without dynastic, romantic, or domestic aspects; omit one or more of these elements, and stress another, and we may have results as varied as the "heroic melodrama" of the Sophoclean *Electra* (which Post dates in 410, after the Euripidean *Electra*), the romanticism of the *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, and New Comedy, all "ethical" plays. Just what Post understands by the term "Romanticism," which he uses in the title of this chapter, is not clear; actually he makes little use of it in the text here, but does use it in other chapters both earlier and later. But troublesome though the term usually is, one may agree that there are "romantic" traits in many unlikely corners of Greek literature.

"The remaining seven plays that are to be considered are at first sight rather a collection of odds and ends" (p. 186). Yet though *Philoctetes* is seen to show a more profound understanding of the vacillating kind of character that Euripides has already presented in the *Orestes* of his *Electra*, Neoptolemus is at last confirmed in virtue, not merely repentant after sinning. Post regards *Philoctetes* as a sort of recantation by Sophocles, an atonement for his own *Electra* and its crafty *Orestes*: he will now present "a success story that is purely moral" (p. 192). Euripides, to be sure, has long since, in *Alcestis*, shown loyalty winning loyalty; but that was whimsy, fairy-story verging on comedy. Heroic action is even more burlesqued in *Helen*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, and *Iphigeneia at Aulis*; their exhibitions of vacillation and abnormality are already on the way to the characterless and sensational kind of drama contemporary with Aristotle, but lack the still serious concern of New Comedy with ethical standards. The *Rhesus*, by the way, is here regarded as "post-Aristotelian" (p. 209).

And now Post nears his goal, devoting a chapter to Menander, an author whom he has already done much to restore to the high esteem in which he was once held. (I regret that he has left Aristophanes almost wholly out of his survey; for here, too, is "poetic fiction" and "ethical" plot, however opinionated.) Some will feel that Post's enthusiasm has carried him away; can the slight remains of Menander support the weight of literary, moral, and philosophic responsibility now laid upon them? The reader must judge. Certainly he will agree with the careful introductory pages (214-20) in which Post explains the relationship between the *Odyssey* and tragedy and New Comedy and the inadequacy of Aristotle (at least in the *Poetics* as we know it; for the *Tractatus Coislinianus* is here ignored) for an understanding of New Comedy. Like tragedy at the end of the Periclean Age (*Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Hippolytus*), New Comedy shows misunderstandings and peripety, unplan-

ned events, irony; like the *Odyssey*, it is "ethical" and "complex." Its differentia is not merely that it is laughable and deals by choice with ordinary people and domestic themes, or that it is fond of mistaken identity, surprises, the "Olympian" knowledge of the audience contrasted with the blindness of the characters; all that we have seen before. What it achieves besides, and what Aristotle, writing before Menander, could not include in his analysis of drama, is the interweaving of plot and character; this makes possible, within the category of the "complex," the play of "psychological discovery." To this extent Menander, like Homer, "mirrors" life; his personages are moral in that "they are concerned with breaches in the texture of civilized living" (pp. 243f.); he has, moreover, an understanding of repentance, of the love of men for women, of women as "unmoved movers," and of the role of children in domestic solidarity. These generalizations are illustrated with considerable subtlety from the three plays which are largely extant (pp. 220-42).

The final chapter, "Aristotle and the Philosophy of Fiction," demands close attention, and can hardly be even summarized here. Though due credit is given to Aristotle for his insights, special emphasis is laid on his limitations. I find this discussion most valuable for directing the reader to what Aristotle did *not* say but might well have said: for example, to the union in the best tragedy and comedy of plot and character; to the psychology of the character (not only, as in the theory of *catharsis*, of the audience); to the creative function of the poet in presenting some attitude toward life. All this is admirably set forth. Post's novel explanation of Aristotelian *catharsis* (pp. 263-67, and notes), not as elimination but as separation of the rational from the emotional and the clarification of both by a sort of "shock treatment," deserves careful study: does it not indeed explain the actual experience of the ideal spectator of tragedy?

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Classical Myths in Sculpture. By WALTER RAYMOND AGARD. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1951. Pp. xvi+203 +97 figs. in text. \$5.00.

This book contains ten chapters: "The Mythological Tradition in Sculpture," "Classical Gods and Heroes," "Early Christian and Medieval Sculpture," "The Renaissance," "Baroque Sculpture," "French Classicism," "The Neoclassic Interlude," "Modern European Sculpture," "English and American Classicism," "Recent Trends." There are also a "Bibliography and Catalog" (pp. 177-83), a "Glossary of Divinities and Heroes" (pp. 185-94), an "Index of Subjects" and an "Index of Artists." The text is shorter than the number of pages might lead one to expect, since the margins are wide and the illustrations large. The pictures are also well reproduced, from photographs of excellent quality, and in the latter parts of the book they include some unfamiliar things.

The author's approach to his subject is seen in this sentence (pp. 10-12): "Because of the predominance of mythological themes in the sculpture of Europe and America, a study of the changes in interpretation and technical treatment made by various artists in different periods and countries will give us perhaps the best single approach to an understanding of the evolution of interests and taste on the part of the sculptors and the people for whom they worked." As is well known, Professor Agard is professionally a classicist; but he is interested in sculpture rather than in mythology, and the reader will gain little acquaintance with the latter subject, although the Glossary supplies a certain amount of information. The book is really a brief and pleasant introduction to the history of occidental sculpture, with specific examples limited to a category which provides comparative material for the whole field.

A few instances of hasty writing or editing have been noted. The metope with Europa and the bull (Fig. 12; cf. p. 33) does not belong to Temple C at Selinus. The

frontispiece and Figure 20 show the same sculpture, apparently from the same photograph; probably this caused some vexation to the author, who would not wish to waste a picture. On page 49 the word "wolf," or a line including that word, has dropped out. The Trevi fountain in Rome appears as Trevia (p. 91).

The great Greek sculptors were men of creative genius, which was controlled by stern discipline in accordance with the principle "Nothing too much." Their influence is most obvious in later men for whom "Something somewhat" would be a more useful motto. Mr. Agard has little esteem for these imitators; his greatest heroes, perhaps, are Bourdelle and Maillol, who, "stimulated by their study of classical themes and techniques, used what they found there for creative expression of themselves and their society" (pp. 146f.). It is significant that the chapter on "Recent Trends" is the longest in the book; here the author finds much that interests him and will interest the reader.

It does not require much ingenuity to think of measures by which the book could be made longer, and some of them would result in increased value for some students; notably, comparisons and contrasts among the sculptures that are illustrated could be much expanded. It would be more difficult to make the book more attractive to the receptive but uninformed reader. I know of one such reader; perhaps his attention was drawn at first by the Aphrodite of Cyrene on the jacket, but then he read Mr. Agard's lucid and unhurried discourse at one sitting. He learned a good deal about sculpture from it, and many will do the same.

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Roman Politics, 220-150 B.C. By H. H. SCULLARD. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1951. Pp. xvi + 326 + frontispiece. \$6.00.

Slightly over twenty years ago the author of this monograph published a prize

essay on *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War* (1930), and five years later he contributed a volume entitled *A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C.* (1935) to the series "Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World." He now continues his studies of the middle period of the Roman Republic with this detailed examination of Roman politicians and Roman political life from 220 to 150 B.C. More than half the book — and the more interesting and important half at that — deals with the thirty-four years between Zama (202) and Pydna (168). Even in his early essay Scullard gave proper recognition to Münzer's studies of the part played in Rome's political life by a few noble families, and the present work is concerned principally with tracing the ups and downs of the different family factions. An opening chapter sketches the methods by which the nobility retained control of the state, and a second gives a brief account of the major family factions among the noble families on the eve of Hannibal's invasion of Italy. The remainder of the book is devoted to detailed studies of the higher officials elected year by year, of the family groups to which each adhered, and of the progress of the various family factions. Four appendixes discuss the historical sources for this period, Cato's speeches, a number of minor points for which there was no room in the text or footnotes, and the trial of the Scipios. The volume closes with lists of the censors, consuls, and praetors who held office during these years, and with seven genealogical tables.

Scullard, like Münzer, recognizes three major family groups in Rome on the eve of the war. The first was led by the Fabii, who had dominated Rome while she was conquering Italy but whose pre-eminence began to wane at about the beginning of the First Punic War (264). Satisfied with what they had already won and chiefly trying to retain it, these men were now hostile to new departures and became a conservative party: Scullard sometimes calls them "reactionaries." The second faction centered originally around the

Aemilii, but presently it was strengthened, and eventually led, by the Scipios. This group enjoys Scullard's highest sympathy, and he often characterizes them as "liberals." This word once had a meaning, perhaps, but unfortunately it has now come to mean anything or nothing: Scullard apparently uses it in a rather Gladstonian sense, and, it is to be feared, false analogies sometimes lead him astray. The third faction, led by the Claudii, was greatly strengthened in 231 by the accession of the Fulvii, who deserted their former allies in the Fabian faction. Scullard has less to say about them.

In a work thus written from the prosopographical point of view, scores of names must necessarily pass before the reader, but the great majority of them remain names only. In this book, however, three men stand out above all others as more than mere names: they are Scipio Africanus, Titus Flamininus, and Cato the Censor. Scullard retains his old enthusiasm for Scipio, praising him especially for his devotion to the old Roman system which prevented him from proclaiming himself a king or Caesar, though he might easily have done so. Perhaps the author somewhat exaggerates Scipio's nobility of soul. On the other hand, Scullard finds Flamininus a most unsympathetic character, picturing him as "vain, shallow, and pretentious, seeking applause, consumed by ambition" (p. 120), and much given to trickery. Cato is a case by himself, receiving more careful attention than in most books dealing with this period. Scullard admits that Cato was not so uncouth and unlettered as is sometimes alleged, but he retains much of the conventional view, considering him hopelessly "reactionary," and harping upon his "narrow Roman mind." Scullard is familiar with the recent studies of Cato by Marmorale and Della Corte, who paint more sympathetic (and, in this reviewer's opinion, truer) pictures of Cato, but he does not share their estimate of the Censor.

A principal task in studies of this sort is to determine the faction to which a given

politician adhered, and this task is not always easy. Titus Flamininus, the victor at Cynoscephalae, presents a case in point. Münzer declares him leader of the Fabian faction, but critics (including Frank, Beloch, and De Sanctis) have taken him as a test case to discredit Münzer's whole theory. Scullard accepts Münzer's contention, bringing forward evidence not cited by Münzer himself. The weight of his authority should settle the matter, and we may take it as established that Flamininus was Fabian, not Scipionic. Unfortunately, however, Scullard goes too far with Münzer's critics. Their principal argument was that the Scipios were philhellenic, that Flamininus' famous treaty was philhellenic, and that Flamininus must therefore have been Scipionic. Scullard gets around this specious difficulty by arguing that the treaty really was the work of the Scipionic leaders in the Senate and that Flamininus merely did what the Senate ordered (p. 105f.). As a matter of fact, the Scipionic and Fabian groups divided on personal and domestic issues rather than on philhellenism. There were philhellenists in each faction and anti-hellenists in each. Flamininus was both a Fabian and a philhellenist. Moreover, the Fabians, being the big landowners of Italy, wanted to have their hands free to repair the damage wrought by Hannibal, and to secure this freedom they sought to avoid all foreign entanglements. At the end of the Second Macedonian War it must have seemed to many of them that the best way to prevent a repetition of the Greek importunities and intrigues which (as Scullard admits) were the cause of that war, and thus to permit Romans to mind their own business, would be to set up a political system in Greece that would satisfy the Greeks themselves and secure their liberty. That is what Flamininus tried to do, his program being strictly Fabian, for the Scipios were already dreaming of Rome as leader in world politics and of an endless series of foreign wars.

A second case in point concerns the agrarian reformer, Gaius Flaminius, who

was killed at Trasimene. Scullard assigns him to the Scipionic faction, arguing that these "liberals" would be more favorable to such reform than the conservative Fabians (p. 53). This last suggestion may be correct, but we must also remember that the demagogic Claudians were ever on the lookout for able men of humble origin with popular followings. Moreover, there is a certain amount of evidence that the Gracchi of that generation were associated with Flaminius, and they had been attached to the Claudian faction at least since 238. Scullard admits that the reformer's son, who became consul in 187, was a Claudian, but thinks that he was seduced from the Scipionic faction by Fulvius Nobilior during their praetorships in Spain in 193 (p. 141). However, the praetors of 193 included at least two other Claudians, and only one who was certainly Scipionic; and in 187 the praetors were equally divided between Claudians and followers of Scipio. It therefore seems more plausible to suppose that in each case the younger Flaminius was elected by Claudian votes and that he was merely following in his father's footsteps when adhering to the Claudian faction. Scullard also believes that Terentius Varro, the consul of 216 who is often blamed for the Roman defeat at Cannae, was a member of the Scipionic faction and not nearly so black as he has been painted. He merely suffered the misfortune of being picked as scapegoat for the defeat (p. 52).

Valuable as the prosopographical approach to Roman history has proved to be, it cannot give the whole story, and taken by itself it presents only a superficial view of what was going on. After all, these noble families, with their glamorous triumphs, their marriages, and their intrigues, were only chips floating down a mighty river, showing the direction of its current, perhaps, but not supplying its power. Occasionally Scullard refers to events in economic or social history, but only briefly and in passing, almost as an afterthought. From reading his chapters one would scarcely guess that Rome faced any serious problems of reconstruction after Hanni-

bal's fifteen years of devastation. It would not occur to the reader that many Fabian and Scipionic families were bankrupted by this destruction of their estates, or that the Claudians were making very successful appeals to the hordes of displaced persons that flocked to Rome. There is no mention of the fact that the voters who elected Cato and several anti-Scipionic consuls and tribunes in the 180's, and who voted to convict the Scipios, included countless persons who had lost everything during the war and to whom the Scipios offered no relief comparable to that promised by their enemies. The colonial expansion into the Po Valley, in which the Claudians were very active, was not for defense against barbarian tribes, as Scullard maintains (p. 170), but to find new homes for the Roman citizens who had come home, after conquering the world for Scipio, only to find their farms destroyed or their jobs given to slaves whom they had recently conquered. For every slave that the rich followers of Scipio brought to Italy, they lost one Fabian or Scipionic voter by forcing him to migrate elsewhere. It is no wonder that the old political scheme of things almost collapsed in the 180's and that in the 170's new men, who attracted their followings in new ways, forced the Fabians, the Scipios, and finally even the Claudians from office. Only during the Third Macedonian War did the old factions effect a temporary union — not emphasized by Scullard — and thereby regain their old political supremacy.

It is unfair, however, to criticize Scullard for not writing some other book. His title might lead one to expect a broad discussion of the background and all the aspects of Roman political life in the period mentioned, but Scullard has chosen to write only about the great families and their political activities. He has performed a useful task well, adding much to what Münzer did, and presenting his material in a far more attractive form. Every serious student of the history of the Roman Republic will need to study this book carefully.

J. W. SWAIN

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Historiographische Anschauungsformen Xenophons. By HANS RUDOLF BREITENBACH. (Dissertation, Basel.) Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusdruckerei, 1950. Pp. 159.

Of all the classical authors whose works are well preserved, Xenophon is the one least studied and certainly least appreciated. While his originality and his excellence as a literary artist cannot be denied, his reputation as a philosopher and as a historian is repeatedly questioned. Yet the ancients held him in high esteem, and it is likely that our opinion of Xenophon will have to be considerably revised. Breitenbach's fine historiographical study of Xenophon's *Hellenica* marks another step in the right direction.

B. is not much concerned with some of the problems which have interested other students. He deals with the date of the composition of the *Hellenica* in two lengthy footnotes (pp. 25-26, note 22; pp. 142-43, note 39) in which he maintains that Books 3-7 (the history of Greece between 403 and 362 B.C.) were written between 362 and 357/6; nothing is said there of Books 1 and 2. In another footnote (pp. 17-19, note 6), B. discusses the possibility that the original beginning of the *Hellenica* may have been lost. He does not consider, however, in this connection, the interpolated passages in *Hellenica* 1-2. 3. 9, which, in my opinion, indicate that a later editor (probably of the Hellenistic period) tried to make the first part of the *Hellenica* continue and complete the work of Thucydides. Another much discussed problem, Themistogenes' authorship of the *Anabasis*, is only mentioned by B. (p. 26); see Carsten Høeg, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, XI (1950), 151-79.

Among the principles of historical writing set down by Xenophon himself, B. stresses rightly the two concepts familiar from the works of Herodotus and Thucydides: the *axiologon* and the *saphes* (pp. 17-26). There is no doubt, therefore, that Xenophon knew what the tasks of a historian were.

The main part of B.'s dissertation (pp. 29-104) is taken up by an examination of

the individual in Xenophon's *Hellenica*; the same subject has now been treated, on an even larger scale, by Marta Sordi, *Athenaeum*, XXVIII (1950), 1-53, XXIX (1951), 273-348, whose second article is devoted to a general discussion of *Le Elleniche come opera storica*. In the form of characterization (pp. 29-41), Xenophon followed Herodotus more than Thucydides, and, unlike Thucydides, he expressed himself favorably about Alcibiades (pp. 35-37); but see P. A. Brunt, *REG*, LXV (1952), 59-96. Xenophon also liked Theramenes (pp. 37-38), but B. goes too far when he suggests that Xenophon was partly responsible for the creation of the "Theramenes legend" (see Leendert van der Ploeg, *Theramenes en zijn tijd* [1948], pp. 262-69). Biographical notices occur rarely in the *Hellenica* (pp. 42-47), and even the *Agésilaios* has little on the King's earlier life. B. rightly observes (p. 42) that the historian deals with people only after they have become noteworthy (*axiologoi*). Unfortunately, B. does not include in his discussion the problem of biography as part of historical writing, but he does state (p. 146) that Xenophon's biographical interests were independent of those of Isocrates; no mention is made of Duane Stuart's *Epochs of Greek and Roman Biography* (see, especially, pp. 80-81).

The most original section of this chapter is devoted to Xenophon's concept of the good military commander (pp. 47-104); herein lies also Xenophon's own most original contribution to historical writing. His combination of practical experience and interest in military actions remind one of Polybius, and B. aptly suggests (p. 146) that Polybius' dependence on Xenophon would be worth a separate study. B. discusses in turn first the material, physical, and intellectual contributions made by the military commander (pp. 47-60, an excellent interpretation of the terms *dapanemata*, *kindynoi*, and *mechanemata*), then self-control, leadership, strategy, and friendship. B. suggests (pp. 98-101) that Thucydides' account of Brasidas may have inspired Xenophon.

In the third and fifth chapters ("Pan-hellenism and Philanthropy"; "Political Forces"), B. could have profited from Jean Luccioni's comprehensive study of *Les idées politiques et sociales de Xénophon*, which he listed in the bibliography but which may have appeared too late to be considered. B. points out that Xenophon did not believe in the Panhellenic idea, although he was familiar with it; it must be remembered, however, that this idea may have had a limited appeal at the time when Xenophon wrote and in his circle.

Another brief chapter (pp. 116-23) is devoted to historical motivation, both personal and general. Xenophon evidently followed Herodotus here rather than Thucydides; he has suffered greatly and, in my opinion, unjustly from a comparison with Thucydides whose penetrating analysis appeals more to the moderns (p. 147). Before condemning Xenophon, one should realize that Thucydides is our sole witness of the general motivation (or causes) which he presents, while Xenophon's account has been checked against the interpretations given by others. Moreover, personal and religious motivations of historical events have their strong points even if they are not in accordance with the principles of sociological (not to say "socialized") history; note that B. himself is cool towards Xenophon's deep religiosity (p. 147).

There is one important passage which B. failed to discuss, the concluding paragraph of the *Hellenica*. In it, Xenophon revealed considerable historical judgment and full awareness of the inconclusiveness of the events he had described. Being neither a propagandist nor a prophet, he could not attempt a clear analysis of a confused situation. Since he was dealing with a period in which individual military commanders played decisive parts, he would have been at fault had he attributed the events to general political causes and considerations.

A. E. RAUBITSCHER

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Gaius: Institutes: Texte et traduction. By JULIEN REINACH. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1950. Pp. xix+1-185 double pages+187-94.

This book, like its companion volumes in this notable series, has a pleasing format. The paper and print are restful to the eyes, and it is far superior in these respects to its chief rival, the Loeb Classical Library.

The publishers are to be congratulated on the inclusion of Gaius in their series of translations. The chief and most distinctive contribution of the ancient Romans was in the field of their law, without some knowledge of which no one can fully understand the Roman character and Roman achievement. For a general introduction to the fundamental concepts of Roman law and jurisprudence, the little textbook of Gaius is unsurpassed.

In conformity with the practice of the other volumes of the series, the notes are scanty and deal primarily with textual problems.

The author has evidently spent much time and thought on his translation, but he is apparently not a highly trained philologist. Max Radin used to be fond of saying that adequate translations of highly technical material, like Roman law, are best made by professional philologists with a working knowledge of law, rather than by professional lawyers with a working knowledge of philology.

In its method of translation, especially of technical terms, the book invites comparison with the recent translation of Gaius into English by the distinguished philologist and legal scholar, Francis de Zulueta (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946).

In my estimation, both Reinach and Zulueta have failed to achieve entirely satisfactory results. Within limits, both have the virtue that their translations are comparatively literal. Certainly it is a grave fault of a translator to wash out all the characteristic coloring of foreign phrases and substitute therefor his own choice verbal coinages. In this respect, we can always learn from the King James version

of the Bible. In spite of the subsequent advances in Biblical scholarship, which finds occasional errors in this translation, the King James version will remain a monument of the translator's art at its best, in that it is superb English and at the same time it is closely literal in its rendition of the original, as the translators understood that original.

Yet in some highly specialized fields, such as those of law and medicine, with their necessarily technical vocabularies, the faithful translator is faced with the dilemma either of making nonsense by his close adherence to a strictly literal rendition of the specialized technical terms or of becoming thoroughly unintelligible and confusing by simply transcribing them. In such cases, it seems that the only alternative is for the translator to make a version as closely literal as the differences in the two languages will allow, and to add either brief notes or a very brief glossary, such as the admirable glossary of public officials that was added by Rolfe to his translation of Ammianus Marcellinus, as it appeared in the Loeb Classical Library. In the preparation of such a glossary, Reinach could have profitably employed such standard reference works as those of Daremberg-Saglio and Monier.

In their treatment of technical legal terms, Reinach and Zulueta adopt opposite extremes. Reinach undertakes to translate all such terms literally, without any explanation, thus often making nonsense, while Zulueta prints them as italicized Latin words in the text of his translation. These technical terms and phrases occur hundreds of times in the text of Gaius, and thus Reinach's translation is often unintelligible on account of the inadequacy of the renditions into literal French, while much of Zulueta's translation becomes unintelligible and confusing, except to the trained Latinist who has at least a rudimentary training in Roman law.

Some of the most marked inadequacies of Reinach's translation are: *suus heres*, héritier interne; *sui juris*, autonome; *mancipium*, mainprise; *in mancipio*, en

mainprise; *vindicta*, vindicte; *imperium*, autorité; *scriptio*, instruction; *sanctae res*, choses qui font l'objet d'un interdit; *vindex*, vengeur; *ius liberorum*, droit des descendants libres; *litis contestatio*, procédure contradictoire.

On the other hand, Zulueta could have profitably adopted Reinach's method of translating such terms as: *alieni iuris*, soumis au droit d'autrui; *potestas*, puissance; *in manu*, en main; *tutela*, tutelle; *curatio*, curatelle; *coemptio*, coemption; *confarreatio*, confarreation; *exceptio*, exception; *condictio*, condictio; *auctoritas*, autorisation; *heres*, héritier; *familiae emptor*, acheteur du patrimoine; *bonorum possessio*, possession des biens; *mortis causa*, à cause de mort; *utilis actio*, action utile; *actio mandati*, action de mandat; *acceptilatio*, acceptilation; *compensatio*, compensation; *res Mancipi et nec Mancipi*, choses Mancipables et non Mancipables; *capitis deminutio*, diminution de capacité (better: diminution d'état légal); *libripens*, peseur; *peculium castrense*, pécule militaire; *familia*, patrimoine.

In accordance with the best modern trends in textual criticism, Reinach is properly conservative in the substitution of his own conjectures for the readings of the single surviving manuscript, together with the new fragments, and he is thus in harmony with the other modern editors of Gaius, such as Seckel-Kuebler, Bizoukides, Baviera, Arangio-Ruiz, Zulueta, and David. His conjectures are few and unimportant, and he has not made any noteworthy contribution to the study of the text of Gaius.

There are few misprints, most of which are collected on a special sheet of errata.

This book makes a welcome addition to the rich literature of Rome's most widely read jurist, and it should help to foster an interest in Roman law studies by classical scholars of all nations.

CLYDE PHARR

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Sextus Empiricus. With an English Translation by R. G. BURY. In 4 volumes. Vol. IV: *Against the Professors*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949. ("Loeb Classical Library," No. 382). Pp. viii+410+10. \$3.00.

The first volume of this set was reviewed in this periodical by Shorey (XXIX [1934], 183). Originally Bury planned to omit from his edition the first six books of *Adversus mathematicos* contained in the present volume. His change of mind will be welcomed by all students of Sextus who now have at their disposal all his extant works in the Loeb series and the concluding volume deserves the same favorable reception as that accorded to its predecessors (though it differs from them by having an index of names only, without a glossary or index of subjects). The books included in it are directed against geometry, arithmetics, astrology (i.e., what we should call so, whereas Sextus decided to omit astronomy), and music (Books 3-6) and against grammar and rhetorics (Books 1-2), i.e., against what was later to be known as the *quadrivium* and two disciplines forming what was later to be known as the *trivium* (its third branch, viz., logic, Sextus treats in *Adv. math.* 7-8 as part of a tripartite philosophy, physics and ethics, the remaining two, being treated in Books 9-11). Bury's text is that of Bekker with emendations by others and by himself; the latter amounting to almost two score, most of them convincing. The translation (which sometimes, e.g., 1. 6 follows the emendation rather than the text, but does not indicate it clearly) reads well. The notes are somewhat uneven. Why not identify $\psi\upsilon\iota\varsigma$ τῶν ἀδύλων τὰ φαινόμενα in 3. 23 and 58 as Anaxagorean or at least refer to 7. 140? Perhaps it could have been indicated that 4. 5-8 contains a passage virtually identical with Anatolius, Περὶ δεκάδοξ, p. 32 Heiberg and Iamblichus, *Theologoumena arithm.* 23-24 (p. 30, 2-15 De Falco). Could it be that in 2. 61 we have a confusion of the names of Xenocrates and Isocrates similar to the famous one in Diogenes Laertius 5. 3? PHILIP MERLAN
Scrpps College

Morals and Law: The Growth of Aristotle's Legal Theory. By MAX HAMBURGER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951. Pp. xxii+191. \$3.75.

"In the present study the purpose has been to elucidate the growth of Aristotle's legal theory as set forth in his *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Rhetoric* and to determine what theories of enduring value may be found in these works. This has required a special inquiry into the interrelation of the three ethical treatises. . . ." (p. xiii). In addition to this expressed purpose the author claims that the problem of *epieikeia* ". . ." has in this study for the first time been treated in all its genetic, generic, functional, and material aspects" (p. xiv).

In fact, the bulk of the work (pp. 12-152) consists of laborious but generally unenlightening paraphrases in support of the thesis stated by Von Arnim, but opposed by Jaeger and Walzer, that the *Magna Moralia* was an early work of Aristotle and that the *Eudemian Ethics* and the *Nicomachean Ethics* were written later. In this connection it was not clear to the present reviewer how the arguments brought forth in this book would either strengthen the faith of those scholars who agree with Von Arnim or shake, in the slightest degree, the faith of those scholars who believe that *Magna Moralia* was not written by Aristotle.

The passage dealing with Book 8, chapter 1, of the *Nicomachean Ethics* may be taken as a sample of the paraphrases found in this work. "In the opening part of this section in EN the human and social record of friendship is so well characterized from its emotional, ethical, biological, and even juridical (state law) aspect that any attempt to paraphrase or give a short account of this formulation would only impair its lucidity and obscure its very human quality. This is what Aristotle says:" (p. 123). The author then quotes in translation twenty-eight lines of this chapter. The student is left to find out for himself the dialectical import for Books 8 and 9 of this significant first chapter.

A summary and a concluding chapter (pp. 152-83) consist of general remarks on

the developments after Aristotle as well as a comparison of the thought of Plato and Aristotle. The following sentences are characteristic of this section:

"The transmission of Greek thought to Roman civilization has been made proverbial in the immortal verses of the Roman poet Horace:

*Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes
Intulit agresti Latio.*

Conquered Greece conquered the savage conqueror and brought arts and sciences into bucolic Latium. The conquest had already started with the old Roman comedy of Plautus and Terence in the first half of the second century B.C. These playwrights were much influenced by the master of late Greek comedy, Menander, who in turn was a pupil of Aristotle's successor Theophrast. In addition Menander greatly admired Euripides who was also a favorite writer of Aristotle" (p. 153).

M. W. ISENBERG

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The Roman Antiquities of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Vol. VII. With an English translation by EARNEST CARY, on the basis of the version of EDWARD SPELMAN. ("Loeb Classical Library.") Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann, 1950. Pp. 472. \$3.00.

The first volume of this translation is dated 1937 and the seventh and last bears the date 1950 — though it was actually issued in mid-1951. (See reviews of earlier volumes in *CP*, XXXVII [1942], 455-57 and XXXIX [1944], 204f.). We compliment Dr. Cary on the successful conclusion of his long endeavor. He has translated well, and for the surviving excerpts of Books 12-20, which occupy over half of this concluding volume, he has provided the first English translation. But Dionysius does not write a gripping narrative, and the faithful reader who has perused every word sheds no tears over the loss of Books 12-20. We do not cease to sigh for the lost books of Livy, but where are the mourners

for the lost books of Dionysius? Dionysius covers the same ground as the early books of Livy with twice the pages and half the art. *Ohe, iam satis est.*

But Book 11, with its inevitably dramatic account of Appius Claudius, Verginia, and the overthrow of the decemvirs, is the best of the lot. Since this book inaugurates the second half of the twenty-book enterprise, Dionysius sees fit to offer a prefatory chapter on the uses of history, especially to philosophers and politicians. What serves him as a cue is the destruction of the decemvirate in 449, which he adjudges an important event and treats very fully.

The text of Book 11 offers more difficulties than the earlier books, and the excerpts even more. Scores of emendations were excogitated by Cary and the three Loeb editors; Post suggested more than Cary, and got more than half of his forty-odd conjectures adopted. Capps did not live to see the volume published, but he had contributed nearly a score of textual suggestions, most of which Cary rejected.

The general index, forty pages in length, is much more than a conflation of the brief indexes which are supplied in the earlier volumes. A sampling indicates that it is careful and complete, although we miss C. Genucius, mentioned as consul on page 426 of this volume.

CLARENCE A. FORBES

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Les Épodes d'Archiloque. By FRANÇOIS LASSERRE. ("Collection d'études anciennes.") Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1950. Pp. 333.

This is a work of reconstruction. The principal postulates are as follows. The book of epodes was the only work of Archilochus which was widely available and well known after the sixth century. Archilochus composed the epodes (and presumably also the collections of elegies, trimeters, and tetrameters) in book form himself. His arrangement was *both* by chronology and by meter; which means

that, if we have reason to think that an epode in meter b followed an epode in meter a, then *all* poems in meter b followed *any* poem in meter a. Finally, Horace not only followed the schemes of Archilochus' epodes, but also drew heavily on the subject matter. Building on these postulates, and by strenuous interpretation and combination of paraphrases, citations, and glosses, not without a generous use of favoring emendations, Lasserre proceeds to reconstruct form and most of the content of fourteen epodes; thereby, too, a detailed account of the life, loves, and hates of Archilochus.

Such a reconstruction must, as Lasserre candidly admits (p. 287), be only as strong as the foundations upon which it is built. Lasserre, however, would regard what I have called the first postulate — that the epodes were the only works of Archilochus which subsequent ages knew well, and that most of the traditions about his life were derived from the epodes alone — not as a postulate but as a preliminary proposition whose truth he has proved. I do not believe he has done so. From the assertion, doubtfully sustained at points, that Critias could have said all he has said about the Parian on the evidence of epodes alone, Lasserre argues that that was therefore all that Critias knew. But he then argues for the existence of a fourteenth epode because it is necessary in order to account for information in Critias. This is circular. In fact, the prejudice in favor of the popularity of the epodes as against that of the other poems, which appears perverse, is in line with Lasserre's purpose; for it is only the epodes which can be even tentatively reconstructed in an order dependent on form. In demanding, however, that form and chronology march always together, Lasserre is demanding a great deal. Likewise, it should be noted that many isolated trimeters may belong to either epodes or stichic iambs, many isolated hexameters may belong either to elegies or to epodes. Lasserre naturally tends to push all such lines into the territory of the epodes. As for the other

postulates, the notion that Archilochus made his own books is definitely attractive, much more so than the hypothesis that he was perpetuated for generations through the memory of chance individuals who felt inspired to sing him to the flute on festal occasions. And that Horace followed Archilochus extensively (though by no means exclusively even in the epodes) is to be believed.

As for the actual work of reconstruction, it is carried through with impressive erudition, with persistence and ingenuity, often with brilliance. There is, indeed, a tendency to pin upon each unidentified character, human or animal, one of the few names attested as belonging to acquaintances of Archilochus. There is a tendency to state the possible as if it were probable and the probable as if it were certain. I leave it to the reader to decide whether

οἶτον Λυκάμβω παῖδα τὴν ὑπερτέρην

is proof positive that Neoboule had no sisters and one brother (pp. 49–50). There is a certain air of innocence about the way in which archaic chronology is treated as if we could be precise about people's ages at given times. Lasserre not only knows when Archilochus was 55, but he also knows that such an age was that of Agamemnon at the beginning of the Trojan War (p. 296); and anyone who knows that knows the number of the sands on the beach and the leaves in the forest. Nevertheless, many of the identifications, the placing of many minute fragments, may be right. Lasserre has come up with some plausible new fragments (see p. 329), and has assembled an enormous amount of material. The reader will have to dig for it; he can not learn very much from this book without reading it all. A table of Lasserre's own reconstructed epodes, with contained fragments, all in one place, would be helpful; so would a concordance to Edmonds, as well as to Diehl and Bergk.

RICHMOND LATTIMORE

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Classical Influences on English Poetry. By J. A. K. THOMSON. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1951. Pp. 271. \$3.50.

After the appearance of the author's "The Classical Background of English Literature" several years ago (reviewed in this Journal, Vol. XLV [1950], 65-66) there was, it is stated in the Preface, "a feeling among those for whom it was primarily designed [students of English literature unfamiliar with Greek and Latin letters] that it suffered from the absence of illustrative examples" (p. 5). So far as poetry is concerned, the present sequel makes good this lack. It is not, however, merely a collection of examples, but a self-contained and independent book, in which the various poetic *genres*, epic, tragedy, comedy, etc. are characterized in an acute and readable manner, rather more fully than was possible in the earlier volume, and specific aspects of the relation between English practitioners and their ancient predecessors examined in some detail.

Three excellent chapters (pp. 9-78) have to do with heroic poetry. The discussion of Virgil's style, of his peculiar use of words "to suggest one meaning behind another" and the accompanying references to the occasional effects of this nature in Milton and the more numerous ones in Tennyson strikingly exemplify the author's talent of treating subtle and complex matters with lucidity (pp. 32-34). Lucan is very justly appraised, and the reasons for which he was prized for so many centuries are made clear. As the author sagaciously points out, "the direct influence of Lucan. . . is much underestimated by the ordinary run of literary historians, who attribute to Seneca a good deal that probably ought rather to be put to the account of Lucan" (p. 44). The treatment of the epic tradition in modern times centers about Milton, the importance of whose debt to Homer and especially to Virgil is properly stressed. At one point a fancied blemish in the *Paradise Lost* is excused on the ground that Milton is following the tradition of the epic simile. No excuse is needed. Apropos of the comparison of Satan's shield to the moon in the first book of the poem:

whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening from the top of Fesolè
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands
Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe
[287-91].

the author comments "Here Satan's shield is aptly compared to the moon; but all that follows about the Tuscan artist is irrelevant, though it is just the part we like best" (p. 69). But the lines give the moon the mysterious yet distinct immensity with which the poet wishes to invest Satan's shield. Like Virgil, Milton extends the epic simile to achieve emotive effect; here "the part we like best" has a poetic relevance transcending literal appropriateness.

Tragedy and Comedy, and Lyric and Elegiac poetry are happily characterized and illustrated. With reference to Senecan traits in *Hamlet* it is emphasized that "the important thing about our *Hamlet* is not the debt to Seneca, which is negligible, but the advance it makes upon Seneca. The important thing for Seneca is that that advance is made from him" (p. 110). This hits the nail on the head. In the chapter on Pastoral, following a discussion of Theocritus' *Adoniazusae*, the pithy observation occurs that "classical art (in its purest form) is based on a deliberate rejection of such realism as that of the mime," and the reader is repeatedly rewarded with comparable examples of critical perspicacity. The treatment of satire is a solid one, with emphasis on Pope and Johnson, and the great, if somewhat external influence of Juvenal is made plain; nevertheless "it is remarkable how the most Juvenalian of authors wish to be thought, and perhaps have even persuaded themselves that they are, more like Horace. Which proves how deeply he sank into their minds. It is a natural result of the difference between the two poets that Juvenal has been translated with a measure of success, Horace never" (p. 202). Some succinct pages on the Epigram close the book.

The passages of verse quoted have been skilfully chosen and those from classical poets rendered unexceptionably. This se-

quel not only illustrates but richly supplements, with respect to the ancient background of English poetry, the description and criticism of the earlier volume. Philologists will note a few matters to which they will take exception,¹ and collectors of misprints, etc. will not be disappointed,² but the readers for whom the book is intended, and not only they, will find it an informative and quickening one.

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1. P. 17: "He [Hector] visits his wife Andromache, who on his saying farewell to her has the presentiment that she will never see him alive again" and p. 20: "Andromache knows, and the audience know, that she will never see Hector again." But cf. A. Pierron's note to 6. 501-2 in his edition of the *Iliad* (Paris, 1869): "Il [Hector] revint pourtant. Voyez VII, 310. C'est donc sans motif qu'on donne vulgairement à la conversation de la porte Scée le titre d'*Adieux*. Les Grecs disaient *Ἐπιτάφια* comme on l'a vu en tête du chant." P. 32: "... into the impersonal style of the epic he [Virgil] infuses his own personality. The dictum of Buffon, "le style c'est l'homme même," does not apply to Homer; to Virgil it is perfectly applicable." Granting the author's interpretation of Buffon's statement, this is quite true. Cf. however *Larousse universel en deux volumes* (Paris, 1921), I, 314 (s.v. "Buffon"): "Cet aphorisme signifie que, tandis que le fond des découvertes scientifiques devient la propriété commune de l'humanité, la manière de les exprimer, le style, reste un don personnel à l'écrivain par où se marquent son talent et son originalité propres... On interprète souvent l'aphorisme de B. à contresens, en lui faisant dire que dans le style se reflète le caractère de l'écrivain, ce qui est loin d'être exact;" see also Büchmann, *Geflügelte Worte* (Berlin, 1903), p. 318. P. 35: the "o" in *arator* (line 2) is short. P. 36: "It [Lucan's poem] is based in the main on the *Bellum Civile* of Julius Caesar, which we possess in a somewhat mutilated form..." cf. *OCD*, p. 514: "His [Lucan's] principal historical authority was undoubtedly Livy." Caesar's *BC* is incomplete but not mutilated; the author of the *BAlex* takes up the story where *BC* 3. 112 leaves off. *Ibid.*, "... Naevius who wrote a *Punicum Bellum* about the Roman wars with Carthage... it appears that the poem of Naevius was largely mythological." Naevius' poem on the first war with Carthage was largely a description of the operations of that conflict. P. 38: "... If rhetoric be as he [Aristotle] defines it, the art of persuasion..." Aristotle's definition (*Rhet.* 1. 2), as Quintilian (*Inst. or.* 2. 15. 13) renders it, is rather "rhetorice est vis invenlendi omnia in oratione persuasibilia"; the view here attributed to Aristotle was that held, among others, by Gorgias and Isocrates. P. 92: "They are all [Publius Syrus] *Sententiae* expressed in iambic trimeters"; a certain number are trochaic *septenarii*. P. 93: "Quintilian says of him [Ovid] *nimum indulget genio suo*"; Q. in fact says that Ovid was "nimum amator ingenii sui" (10. 1. 88), adding "Ovidii Medea videtur mihi ostendere quantum ille vir praestare poterit, si ingenio suo imperare quam indulgere maluisset." P. 199: "The theme of the second satire [of the first book] is summed up in the last line: *dum vitant stulti vitia in contraria currunt*; this is actually vs. 24 of this 134 line

La Littérature latine inconnue, Tome I: L'Époque républicaine. By HENRY BARDON. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1952. Pp. 382. Fr. 1600.

The idea behind this work is an imaginative, even a romantic one: to assemble and synthesize all that can be learned of ancient Latin writers whose productions survive in inconsiderable fragments or not at all, and thus to fill in the gaps in the history of Latin literature, so that its development may be viewed as a continuous process, rather than as something erratic and elusive and in great measure obscure, which it must appear if we confine ourselves to the works which we to-day possess. Professor Bardon has had the clairvoyance to perceive that no author is really lost whose existence is attested at all, and that from sparse fragments and scraps of information a surprising degree of life and consistence may often be restored, by a sort of "evocatio," to the least substantial ghosts. This book is such an "evocatio" of the so-called lost writers of the Roman republic; it will be followed by a second volume concerned with those of

poem. P. 242: "English poets had composed many exquisite lyrics of love before the Palatine Anthology was put together"; the author doubtless meant "before the MS of the P. A. was discovered" (1606); Cephalas put the collection together between A. D. 912 and 959.

2. P. 48: the text of the passage quoted from Statius' *Thebaid* (the reference should be VII [not IX] 40-70) is substantially Garrod's; the translation (p. 248) is however based on one which reads *adverso* rather than *averso* in vs. 42 and *dirus* not *durus* in vs. 46 (Queck's old Teubner edition [Leipzig, 1854?], P. 51, l. 2: read *alvo* for *alno*; the reference at the end of the passage should be 2. 119-136. Pp. 79-80: here *Ov. Met.* 13. 789-807 is quoted, followed by Dryden's translation. In the Latin vs. 804 reads "nobillior forma, platano conspector alta," but this was not what Dryden translated. His text read "nobillior pomis, platano, etc." ("than apples fairer, etc."); this is the old vulgate text and the one generally favored today. The verse as the author prints it appears to be a corruption of the perverse "nobillior forma ac platano, etc." of Merkel's second edition, which is better than what he printed in his first ("nobillior forda, p., etc."), but not much better. P. 81: the last word of *Ov. Met.* 1. 291 is "habebant." P. 86: in *Psychomachia* 460 read "iuvat," in 473, "mucrone." P. 124: in *Pl. Amph.* 294 Lindsay's < > enclosing "hodie" have become (). P. 157: in *Prud. Cath.* 5. 2 read "per." P. 161: in *Ov. Am.* 1. 14. (not 12) 9 read "collectam." P. 203: the first word of *Hor. Sat.* 1. 9. 16 is "persequar," the second of *Epist.* 2. 1. 77, "illepideve." P. 211: in *Pers. Sat.* 5. 40 read "pollice." P. 213: in *Luv.* 10. 152 read "Alpempque." P. 245: in *Mart.* 4. 64. 5 read "planus."

the Empire. It is a vivid and fascinating piece of work, marked by the perspicacity and temperate good judgment which distinguish the best French scholarship.

The volume is divided into two parts, each of four chapters. The first part deals with vanished literary figures of the period from the beginnings of literary activity to the appearance of Cicero: the two initial chapters survey those who lived before Terence, and the ones who may be grouped around that dramatist, the third, the writers who flourished in the days of the Gracchi, and the fourth, those approximately coeval with Sulla. The second part, entirely devoted to the Ciceronian era, is arranged somewhat differently: the opening chapter scrutinizes the "lost" philosophers and orators of the final decades of the Republic, the next, the historians and pamphleteers whose surviving representatives are Caesar and Sallust, the third, the array of technical writers of whom the most eminent was Varro, and the last, the poets, so numerous and enterprising, who were the immediate predecessors or contemporaries of Lucretius and Catullus. Each chapter opens with a paragraph or two describing the background, literary and political, of the individuals to be discussed; in the second part the surviving writers around whom the "absent" ones are grouped are characterized as well, frequently with rare felicity. For example, it is observed of Caesar "son impartialité est tout extérieure: une habile coloration des faits, une insistance discrète mais d'autant plus efficace que la trame du récit est, d'ordinaire, plus neutre, une omission légère, une affirmation discutable, — et nous voici, sans nous en être aperçus, pris en un séduisant réseau d'apparences fallacieuses" (p. 247), and of Lucretius, "C'est un athée qui craint d'avoir la grâce" (p. 325).

Once Livius Andronicus, Naevius, and Ennius are excluded (the author does not discuss writers whose works, although fragmentary, have been exhaustively studied), together with the relatively intact Plautus, the pre-Terentian period offers

rather meagre gleanings. Appius Claudius is the first Roman man of letters to be "evoked"; his literary portrait remains dim. It is suggested that the verse attributed to him to the effect that each man is the architect of his own fortune was of Greek origin, and that he had some acquaintance with Greek New Comedy; this may be, but it is easier to believe, with Lejay, that Appius repeated a traditional Italian saw. The figure of Titinius emerges more distinctly; Beare's view that the *togata*, by virtue of its preoccupation with Roman daily life, is to be distinguished from other dramatic forms employed by the Romans is rejected: Titinius' *togatae* show many features of the *palliata* (parasites, haughty and acid women, spineless husbands, sententious old men): the difference between the *togata*, as conceived by Titinius, and the more Hellenic *palliata*, is one of degree, not of nature (pp. 40-43). With regard to the earlier annalists, Fabius Pictor is passed over, as too well-known, and not enough is ascertainable about Cincius Alimentus to make him much more than a name. The author acutely conjectures that the first annalists wrote in Greek because they were aristocrats and nationalists. They were no more concerned with the opinion of a possible Greek audience than with that of the Roman populace; they wrote for a minority of educated Romans, able to appreciate their courage and patriotism. In the following period the historians A. Postumius Albinus, L. Cassius Hemina, and Cn. Gellius stand forth with a degree of reality, and something can be discerned of the qualities of such orators as Q. Caecilius Metellus and Ser. Sulpicius Galba, and even the epic poet Gannius is given tenuous substance, as is the scholarly Furius, who, contrary to the view of Münzer, is identified with the consul of 136 B.C. (p. 81). Of Terence's contemporaries, Scipio Aemilianus is easily the most arresting. The fragments of his speeches, for the most part preserved in Gellius, are admirably analyzed, and from them a picture of Scipio is built up which makes clear why Cicero thought so highly

of this urbane and good man: "Les discours de Scipion restituent à l'histoire le Scipion de la légende" (p. 64).

In the Gracchan generation Q. Lutatius Catulus is outstanding as Philhellene and poet, as well as the orator who prepared the way for Hortensius and Cicero. Büttner's hypothesis of a "literary circle" dominated by Catulus corresponding to the earlier one centering about Scipio is shown to be untenable (pp. 123-32): of the poets who, according to Büttner, belonged to this coterie, Porcius Licinus was too ill-disposed toward the aristocracy to have been a friend of Catulus, particularly after the latter's falling-out with Marius, and while Volcacius Sedigitus may have been Catulus' contemporary, there is no evidence that the pair knew one another; in the case of Valerius Aedituus even this chronological correspondence is far from certain. Comedy flourishes with Turpilius and Afranius, and with Aemilius Scaurus and Rutilius Rufus autobiography makes its appearance; all four are successfully resuscitated. This chapter and the next one bridge the great void between Terence and Cicero; while the Gracchan period was in great part one of preparation and experiment, that of Sulla was signalized by a wealth of finished production in almost all types of literature; if tragedy and comedy declined, the Atellan and the mime came to the fore; historical writing was eminently represented by Claudius Quadrigarius and Sulla himself, and there are numerous secondary figures that repay evocation: the epic poets Hostius and Furius of Antium, the versatile Seius, Matus, Laevius, Valerius Aedituus and Valerius of Sora, and divers jurists and grammarians. When the "lost" writers have been taken into account, the years between Terence and Cicero are revealed to be a time of uninterrupted effervescence, during which a multitude of venturesome men continued to adapt and acclimatize whatever Greek writing suited their purpose with increasing skill and discrimination.

The second part conjures up the philosophers and orators, the historians, the

technical scholars, and the poets who formed the background of the great survivors, Cicero, Varro, Lucretius and the rest, and a complex and pulsating background it is. Among the orators, the personality of Hortensius is brought out with especial clarity; his engaging daughter Hortensia, one of the handful of women who spoke in public, forms a picturesque contrast with the curiously modern Carfania, the voluble wife of the senator Licinius Buco, who loved forensic litigation. In the chapter on historians, the sketch of Sisenna, sympathetic and comprehensive, is particularly illuminating (pp. 251-58). The value of information found in technical and scientific writers in illustrating the intellectual climate of a period is well emphasized in the section on Varro's fellow men of science, more numerous and active than is generally recognized. A great part of the final chapter is devoted to the "neoterici," who are examined *seriatim* and with minuteness; the "circle" of Catullus, the author concludes, is a philological fantasy: these poets had no more literary solidarity or personal sympathy for one another than contemporary poets customarily do; a number of them were open enemies.

A survey of this sort offers innumerable temptations to go off the deep end, to erect one fragile hypothesis on top of another. Such temptations the author has resisted admirably. Without being unduly skeptical (witness his acceptance of the separate identities of Licinius Imbrex and Licinius Tegula, against Vossius and E. Fränkel [p. 35], and his refusal to believe that there never was an Aprissius [pp. 164-65]), he is wary of conjectures based upon improbable or unverifiable assumptions, however ingeniously and plausibly advanced. For instance, Carcopino's contention that the younger Scipio died a natural death is rejected, and his arguments against the genuineness of the letters ascribed to Cornelia rebutted effectively, as is his supposition that Epicadus doctored Sulla's memoirs in the interest of Catulus and his adherents (pp. 88-92). In like

manner he remains unconvinced by Hendrickson's reconstruction of a passage of the lost memoirs of Rutilius Rufus (p. 112), and raises cogent objections to the same scholar's theory that Brutus' *De virtute* was the same as the letter Cicero mentions in *Brutus* 3. 11. Nevertheless he is not dogmatic in his skepticism: of Herrmann's ascription of the "original form" of the *Lydia* in the *Appendix Vergiliana* he characteristically remarks "la méthode dangereuse implique des résultats problématiques, — ce qui ne signifie pas qu'ils soient automatiquement erronés" (p. 341, n. 2).

Readers will note a few shortcomings: the proofreading is by no means unexceptionable, particularly where languages other than French are concerned;¹ dates are not always exact, and there are several other small errors;² in two places matters have become wonderfully confused,³ and there

are one or two odd misstatements of fact.⁴ These faults can easily be remedied; they should not blind even the microscopically-minded to the merits of this remarkable book.

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*Publii Ovidii Nasonis Tristium Liber IV
Commentario Exegetico Instructus.* By
TH. J. DE JONGE. Groningen: De Waal,
1951. Pp. 226. \$2.50.¹

Dr. De Jonge's dissertation provides the fourth book of the *Tristia* with a Latin commentary of seventeenth-century dimensions (182 pages of notes for 578 lines of text); nothing requiring explanation or which has attracted the attention of exegetes is passed over; noteworthy translations are taken into consideration, and almost every expression is illustrated with

1. *P. 17*: read "Clastidium." *P. 211. 18*: the *antisygma* has become a capital "C." *P. 24. n. 3*: for *nerum* read *verum*; the Latin also requires correction p. 93 n. 2; p. 141, n. 7; p. 174, n. 1; p. 176, n. 2 and n. 4; p. 224, l. 14; p. 225, n. 5; p. 228, l. 9; p. 230, n. 1; p. 231, l. 23; p. 236, n. 8; p. 255, n. 3; p. 292, rubrics VI and VII; p. 330, n. 4, and p. 353, n. 8. In p. 297, n. 9 "Naevius" has become "Novius," and in l. 23 of p. 304 "Figulus" should be read. "Wilamowitz" is misspelled in several unusual ways (see p. 328 and p. 346, n. 2), and barbarisms such as "wochmals" (p. 131, n. 3) occur more than once. The Greek cited has given the printer some trouble, e.g. p. 35, l. 27; p. 55, n. 3; p. 118, n. 4 (four errors); p. 144, l. 11 (read "Ελικών"); p. 127, n. 3; p. 129, l. 13; p. 151, l. 9 and n. 3; p. 181, n. 8; p. 274, n. 5; p. 330, n. 4, and p. 343, l. 22. The reference to Apollonius (p. 370, n. 1) should be 4, 1525.

2. *P. 45*: the third Punic war began in 149 B.C., not 147 or 156 (p. 175). *P. 59*: read "Aristonicus." *P. 84*: for "fole de boucf" read "fiel de b." (*fel bubulum*). *P. 168*: M' Aquillus was not consul in 99 B.C., nor Sex. Pompeius in 89. *P. 149*: the Social war ended in 88 not 80 B.C. *P. 201*, n. 1: after "Cicéron" add "prosauteur." *P. 213*: P. Autronius Paetus was consul designate for 65 in 66; he did not become consul; Metellus Celer's consulate was in 60, not 61; T. Flamininus was consul in 123, not in 57. *P. 267*: for "49" read "47" (date of Catullus' death according to Gilbert and Renard. *P. 273*: "que L. Calpurnius Bibulus, consul en 59, consacra à la mémoire de son beau-père, Brutus"; read "fils du consul de 59, etc." *P. 285*: read "in Clodium et Carionem" (not "Pisonem").

3. *P. 227*: the speech of Caesar quoted by Suetonius (*ful. 66*) was not pronounced "en 46 devant Thapsus, et destinée à calmer une panique provoquée par l'arrivée de Juba." It was presumably delivered in Caesar's camp before Uziza, to allay the fear the Caesarian troops had of Juba's force before it appeared; when Juba actually arrived they saw they had nothing to fear (*BAf* 48): "Dion Cassius (41. 26. 35) et Appien (*BC* 2. 47) ont refait le discours de Thapsus: il est probable que Suétone,

etc.": the references to Appian and Dio concern Caesar's speech to his mutinous troops at Placentia in 49 B.C. *P. 336*: with reference to the obscure poet Nardus, attested by CIL, X, 1284: *Nardu poeta pudens hoc tegitur tumulo*, it is remarked: "La chute du s finale, le caractère de la graphie placent l'inscription à une époque assez ancienne pour que l'on repousse la thèse de Teuffel, lorsqu'il situe le poète vers le règne de Domitien. Le rapprochement de *Pudens* avec le nom de l'Empereur [sic] de l'an 106 ne signifie rien." The author has misunderstood "gekrönten" in Kroll's statement *s.v.* "Nardus" (2) in *RE*, XVI (1935), 1714: "... das *pudens* kein Cognomen und daher die Gleichsetzung mit dem J. 106 n. Ch. gekrönten L. Valerius Pudens hinfällig ist.... Also ist seine Erwähnung bei Teuffel [in the fifth edition, revised by Schwabe (Leipzig, 1890), p. 774], § 319, 3 (domitianische Zeit) unberechtigt." Kroll had in his turn misread Teuffel, who states (*loc. cit.*): "Nach der Inschrift aus Histonium (Or. 2603 Wilm. 2479) L. Valerius L. J. Pudens cum esset annorum XII Romae certamine sacro Iovis Capitolini [the contest instituted by Domitian (Suet. *Dom.* 40)] iustro sexto (J. 106) ... coronatus (mit dem Eichenkranz) est inter poetas latinos (ein anderer ist Nardu[s] poeta pudens [the last italicized are the reviewer's] CIL, 10, 1284)."

4. *P. 221*: "En 48 il [Curio] fut son légat en Afrique. Il avait combattu avec succès les Pompéiens, quand le roi de Maurétanie Juba le fit assassiner." Curio was defeated in 49 B.C. by Juba, King of Numidia. Curio fought to the end, but did not survive the battle; Juba did not have him assassinated. *P. 332*: "... en 46... voguant sur le bateau qui l'emmenait en Espagne ultérieure... il [Caesar] se délassait... de la longueur du trajet par la poésie: il écrivait un *Voyage (Iter)*." Caesar travelled overland (Appian *BC* 2, 103: ὁ δὲ Καισάρ... βασιντάρω στρατῷ μακροτάτην ὁδὸν ἐπελθὼν, and Dio 43. 32: τὸ γὰρ πλείον στρατεύμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπέλελυτο.

1. Copies may be obtained from the author, A.E.-kade 23, Veendam, Holland.

apt parallels, for the most part taken from Ovid himself.² The book is a worthy contribution to Ovidian scholarship.

The text adopted is that of Owen, with few changes. In nine of the eleven passages where Owen's reading is not accepted, that of the Levy-Ehwald Teubner edition (Leipzig, 1922) is printed; in each instance the substitution appears well justified. In 1. 103 "ita," for which Heinsius found manuscript support, is preferred to "ea" (Owen) and "en" (Teubner); no exception can be taken to this. The reading "removentis" (6. 13), on the other hand, is a dubious improvement upon the Teubner "renovantis," or even upon Owen's "seindentis." The author here (pp. 154-55) follows Goldbacher (*Wien. Stud.*, XLIII [1922-23], 79-80), who surmised that "removentis," which appears in Leidensis 177 (13 cent.), might be behind "semoventis," the reading of the first hand of Laurentianus 223 (11 cent.). This is not impossible, but it does not establish the soundness of "removentis"; in the Gothanus (13 cent.) the correct "renovatur" has been supplanted in *Tr.* 5. 12. 23 by the *lectio facilior* "removetur" (Goldbacher's argument [p. 80] for "removentis" in the earlier passage: "Auch schafft dieser Ausdruck ein sehr anschauliches und lebendiges Bild von dem Pfluge, der, um die Furche aufzumachen, die Erdschollen zurückschiebt [*terras remove*] und bei dieser Arbeit abgenützt wird [*tenuatur*]" is not relevant here); furthermore the parallels given in support of "removentis" (p. 155) all concern "dimoveo," which is not a synonym of "removeo," and is not so employed by Ovid.

Eleven pages of *Prolegomena* deal with the question of the poet's *relegatio* (pp. 5-15). The numerous theories that have been put forward are criticized very sensibly; the author points out the improbability, to put it kindly, of several recent hypotheses; he accepts the traditional explanation (the

poet's involvement in some scandalous exploit of the younger Julia) as the right one, and conjectures that this had to do with Julia's relations with Silanus. Ovid was not discreet about what he knew about the affair, but lacked the courage to tell Augustus. When the latter learned what had happened, and realized that Ovid had failed to inform him, his patience with the poet, already tried by the *Ars amatoria*, became exhausted (p. 15). This is very nearly the version of H. Fränkel, except that the latter does not suppose that Ovid gossiped about the matter.³

The Commentary is naturally the most important part of the work. It is commendably accurate and thorough. Misstatements are very rare, and sometimes not wholly imputable to the author. In the note to 1. 15 the comment is made "nomen *Achilles* eiusque casus obliqui in sexto solum pede hexametri leguntur... (Bednara: *De serm. dactyl. etc.* pag. 36)"; but cf. *Met.* 13. 107: *sed neque Dulichius sub Achillis casside vertex* and *Pont.* 3. 3. 43: *praemia nec Chiron ab Achille talia cepit*.⁴ Of 2. 34 it is remarked "captivi enim, sicut lugentes, barbam et capillos non curabant" (the poet has been speaking of the unkempt appearance of prisoners led in a triumphal procession at Rome). It is doubtful that the prisoners let their hair and beards grow to mark their grief; more probably their shagginess simply signified that during the period of confinement before they were marched to their death they had no opportunity to be shaved or have their hair cut. The statement made apropos of *Iliades* (3. 8): "Ilia apud Ennium et Naevium Aeneae filia est" followed by a

3. Cf. *Ovid: A Poet Between Two Worlds* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1945), pp. 112-13.

4. Cf. *ad.* 10. 66: "cor: auctore Bednara (pag. 72) forma singulari vocabuli cor raro utitur Ovidius... saepius pluralem numerum pro singulari adhibet"; Ovid uses various forms of "cor" 46 times: the singular occurs 38 times, the plural, 8. The specific form "cor" is found 14 times, "corda," 8. Also cf. *ad.* 10. 75: "iuventa: Catullus (61. 235) primus hanc formam primae declinationis adhibuit pro ablativo iuventute... metro non apto. (Bednara pag. 34):" Catullus wrote "iuventam" in the verse in question; the ablativ form was employed by Cicero in *De consulatu suo* (*Att.* 2. 3. 4), which probably was composed before Catullus' poem.

2. Doubtless by an oversight, the Deferrari-Barry-Maguire *Concordance of Ovid* (Washington, 1939), is not included among the *subsidia* listed on pp. 16-20. Without this work, it would hardly have been possible to assemble so many Ovidian parallels.

reference to Servius *ad Aen.* 1. 273 is not quite exact: Servius says that Naevius and Ennius wrote that Romulus was the son of a daughter of Aeneas, but not that the daughter was named Ilia.⁵ On pages 196 and 212 the name of the sixteenth-century scholar Micyllus appears as "Micyllinus." Is the explanation of "numerosus" in 10. 50: "*numerus abundans. Ita vocatur Horatius propter varia metra, quae in Carminum libris inveniuntur*" the best one? *Am.* 2. 4. 29: *illa placet gestu numerosaque brachia ducit* and *Pont.* 4. 2. 33: *... in tenebris numerosos ponere gestus* (the other two occurrences of the adjective in Ovid) would suggest a less prosaic interpretation.

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Der Pfeilschuß des Pandaros. By HANS JOACHIM METTE. Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1951. Pp. 108.

Most of this book is devoted to a translation into German prose of Books 3-7 of the *Iliad*. This is preceded by some twenty-five pages of introduction, nearly two-thirds of which consists of footnotes; these are especially rich in citations of German works of the last ten or fifteen years.

Mette believes that although the *Iliad* was preceded by many earlier poems, one of which may have been the poem about Memnon recently postulated by Pestalozzi in his *Die Achilleis als Quelle der Ilias* (Erlenbach-Zürich, 1945), there is no justification for Pestalozzi's doubts about accepting the *Iliad* as the earliest extant poetical work of Western man. He is further convinced that the section extending from 3. 2 to 7. 322 (plus, probably, 7. 345-432) originally formed an independent poem. This extremely early work, "The Shot of Pandarus," has a peculiar interest

for us, he feels, in that it presents the earliest conception of Western man as a type. It is with the idea of making this oldest poem of the Western-world and this earliest conception of Western man available to a wider circle that Mette has included his translation.

Mette does not, of course, even attempt in his twenty-five pages to demonstrate that 3-7 were once an independent poem. In this he is doubtless wise. For those who are prepared to believe this sort of thing, no demonstration is at this late date necessary, while it seems rather unlikely that Mette could have convinced others even if he had devoted his entire book to the task.

Mette is highly attracted by the notion that much of the rest of the *Iliad* is also the work of the author of "The Shot of Pandarus," who considerably later in life greatly enlarged it. This method of composition accounts for many of the difficulties and defects which analytical critics have found in the *Iliad*. This kind of "analysis" of the *Iliad* is not new, of course, nor have any of its advocates yet discovered anything resembling evidence to support it. It seems to owe its existence to a quite human desire to have the best of both worlds: to enjoy the Unitarians' literary enthusiasm for the great genius Homer and at the same time to show a scientific and scholarly awareness of the oddities found in the *Iliad* by a long series of brilliant Analysts.

It is hard to see what sort of readers Mette expected his book to attract. The heavily footnoted introduction could hardly have much appeal for any but a specialist, and there must be comparatively few specialists in any country who will not be content to read Books 3-7 in the original rather than in Mette's German.

Translations are probably the most difficult of all things to judge in a foreign language, and I should certainly not presume to judge the quality of this one. One admirable characteristic does deserve mention: it is not in the unpleasantly small print used elsewhere in the book.

5. Cf. E. Marmorale, *Naevius Poeta* (Florence, 1950), p. 249: "...Enea avrebbe trovato in Alba come re Amulio e ne avrebbe sposato la sorella, dalla quale sarebbe nata Ilia, etc... Ma son tutte supposizioni: in realtà si brancola nel buio più pesto: è attestato solo che Romolo fu figlio di una figlia di Enea."

There are extensive indexes both to the introduction and to the translation.

FREDERICK M. COMBELLACK

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Le Cheval dans l'Iliade. By ÉDOUARD DELEBECQUE. ("Études et Commentaires," No. IX.) Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1951. Pp. 251.

The first and most important of the three sections comprising this book is on the horse in the *Iliad* and extends to page 134. Pages 137-210 are devoted to a lexicon of the Homeric terms used in connection with horses. The concluding section (213-44) contains an essay on the pre-Homeric horse.

Delebecque begins by stressing the difficulty, if not impossibility, of giving a unified portrait of the Homeric horse and then proceeds to consider in turn the three hippological layers he distinguishes in the *Iliad*: the horse in the legends distinct from the Troy story, anterior to it, and often localized elsewhere; in Homer's own time; and in the Trojan War. He then examines the light shed by his study on the structure of the poem and the problem of unity of authorship. Delebecque has assembled a surprising amount of material, and in general his treatment of it is commendable. In fact, one who is himself not a hippologist might say that the book often rises above its subject. At times Delebecque seems too prosaically concerned over matters which pretty surely troubled Homer and his hearers not at all. He is, for instance, impressed by the fact that the nine years at Troy which precede the opening of the *Iliad* would seem to make many of the poem's horses older than they should be to justify Homer's praise of them. One suspects that Homer and his audience never thought of this and cared as little about the literal age of these horses as about the literal age of Helen. Again, Delebecque is worried over the question of how all the horses the Greeks apparently had at Troy could possibly be

fed and housed, and he suspects that the number of horses the Greeks actually had was much smaller than Homer tries to make us believe. He is, I think, also far too ready to deduce the existence of pre-Homeric legends about particular horses in the *Iliad*. For example, he concludes from Odysseus' words to Dolon in 10. 402-4 (to the effect that Achilles' horses are hard for a mortal to manage) that there was an old tradition about some mortals who tried to use Achilles' horses and came to grief. I should not deny, however, that some at least of Homer's horses were famed in pre-Homeric story. Delebecque believes that Homer's descriptions often show the most precise and detailed observation of horses. "En un mot, il y a chez le poète une connaissance complète, très fine et très nuancée, du cheval, de son extérieur et de son caractère" (p.58). Homer was not familiar, however, with the use of war chariots, and his accounts of them show many difficulties and ambiguities. Delebecque is perhaps unjustifiably confident that Rhesus' horses in the Doloneia are ridden and not hitched to a chariot.

After Delebecque's great praise of *le poète* as a connoisseur of horses, it comes as something of a surprise when we are told that the close study of the horse in the *Iliad* shows that the poem is not all by the same man. "Homer" has heretofore been used in his book only for convenience, and the expert knowledge of horses shown by "Homer" has been merely the high level of knowledge one might expect generally in a society in which the horse was valued. While regretting that his material is inadequate to yield precise results in dissecting the *Iliad*, Delebecque argues that Books 10 and 23 can be shown to be different from the rest. The evidence presented to support this verdict on these books will not, I am afraid, convince anyone not already convinced.

In his "Lexicon" Delebecque deliberately chose not to arrange his material in one alphabetical order, but to break it into thirty-three topics. He further complicates this already complicated system by break-

ing nearly all of the topics into subheads and the subheads into still smaller divisions, each regularly having its own alphabetical order. For instance, he breaks "Reproduction" into three subheads: males, females, products; "Le Physique" into four subheads and one of these into three divisions. The result of all this is that the "Lexicon" becomes extremely difficult to consult on any particular word, though the system has some utility if one wants to read the material on some main topic. Every now and then in his discussions of the various words Delebecque finds subtle nuances which I am sure would greatly surprise Homer; but this is a common, venial, and probably inevitable consequence of prolonged concern with a specialized study of this sort.

Of the merits of the essay on the dim and disputed beginnings of man's use of the horse I have no competence to speak.

The book contains a bibliography of some seventy-five items, most of them apparently on the pre-Homeric horse. The analytical table of contents is to some extent a substitute for an index.

FREDERICK M. COMBELLACK

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Recherches sur le texte de la Germania. By JACQUES PERRET. ("Collection d'études latines," série scientifique, XXV.) Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1950. Pp. viii+166+2 pls.

This latest study of the text tradition of the *Germania* is an important contribution to the rather extensive literature on this subject. The author pays tribute to the scholarly researches of Rodney P. Robinson, although he does not agree with his conclusions completely.¹ Whether one accepts Robinson's stemma, which divides the existing manuscripts into two families (X and Y) or agrees with Perret that Robinson's X should be split into four units, does not seem to this reviewer particularly important. Both scholars concur in general on the relationship of exist-

ing manuscripts to one another. In addition to the sources used by Robinson for his text, Perret includes in his study the *editio Romana* (1475), which he adds to the Beta family; the so-called *Notae Cantiliacenses*, manuscript notes in a humanistic hand entered in a copy of the Roman edition now in the Musée Condé at Chantilly; the Bologna edition (1472), which Perret argues convincingly was the *editio princeps* rather than the *Spirensis*, hitherto believed to have been printed in 1469/70, which, according to Perret, is based on the Bologna edition, as were the editions issued under the name of *Puteolanus*.

On the controversial question as to whether Enoch of Ascoli took the Hersfeld manuscript to Rome, Perret rejects as invalid the evidence cited by Robinson¹ and C. W. Mendell² in opposition to this theory. In discussing the relationship of Hf. to the archetype of our existing manuscripts, Perret also departs from the most widely held current view. Instead he reverts to the theory that the lost ancestors of our different families of manuscripts were copies not of Hf. but of a copy of Hf. On the basis of a study of ambiguities, misspellings, paragraph arrangements, and other internal evidence in the existing manuscripts of the *Germania* and in the *Agricola* as preserved in the Aesinas codex, Perret concludes that the direct ancestor of the existing *Germania* manuscripts was a lost fifteenth-century copy of Hf. Moreover, he presents the interesting theory that the Hf. manuscript, having been taken to Rome by Enoch of Ascoli and having entered the Vatican Library in 1455, was copied for the humanist, Aeneas Sylvius, perhaps after he became Pope Pius II. This scholar, although he jealously guarded his copy from most of his contemporaries, allowed five friends to copy it. These five copies, separately made, were the ancestors of all existing manuscripts and because they were copied from a humanistic model, they present dis-

1. *The Germania of Tacitus* (Middletown, Conn., 1935).
2. In *AJP*, LVI (1935), 113-30.

crepancies that would not be found if they had been made from a manuscript in Carolingian script (such as the ninth-century Hersfeld codex).

In developing this hypothesis Perret links the thorny problem of the omission of the *Agricola* from our manuscripts of the *Germania* with the interests of Aeneas Sylvius as an author. Passages from the historical works of the pontiff are cited as evidence that the *Germania*, *Dialogus* and fragment of Suetonius (*De grammaticis et rhetoribus*) would have had an appeal for him which would not have been true of the *Agricola*. For this reason, the biographical work was excluded from the copy which was made, probably in 1458, which became the archetype of the five lost ancestors of our existing manuscripts.

Whether one accepts Perret's complete thesis or not, there is much food for thought in this scholarly monograph. The final section, which deals with Aeneas Sylvius, adds new material to the story of humanistic activities in the fifteenth century.

DOROTHY M. ROBATHAN

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Syntaxe latine. By ALFRED ERNOUT and FRANÇOIS THOMAS. ("Nouvelle collection à l'usage des classes," No. XXXVIII.) Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1951. Pp. xvi+416.

The revised Roby has never come my way. Roby's own volume one is still useful for facts, though altogether outmoded in theory; but his second volume, in which there is a minimum of comment to a maximum of syntactical specimens, has had few peers in the study of syntax in any language. Now, beside many a good account of modern theory in Latin phonology and morphology, there has never been a good historical Latin syntax of moderate compass; yet, ever since the days of Delbrück, the subject has been advancing steadily. Those of us who read the linguistic journals know how deficient is the

familiar Allen and Greenough when it comes to rational explanations of Latin usage "from Plautus to Suetonius," and sometimes when it is only a matter of the statement of fact. Hale and Buck is better, but far from being completely satisfactory. Moreover, 1903 is a long time ago; and one problem after another has been taken up in the intervening half-century and presented in new and reasonable terms. The incomparable syntax of Hofmann (who is better at syntax than at etymology), a revision of which is announced, is for finished scholars, not for tiros. Now come Ernout and Thomas with a really new *Syntaxe latine* (it is a totally different work from Ernout's revision of Riemann) "à l'usage des classes," to the required reading of which not a few professors of Latin of my acquaintance, both cisatlantic and transatlantic, should devote a rewarding (and delightful) weekend; and then be examined on it by me — Ernout might well be too merciful. Teachers of Latin in the schools, except those who have made a study of the history of Latin in the University, ought to be subjected to the same requirement. Presumably graduate students, and in some places perhaps also undergraduate, will be immersed in it, provided that the teacher knows what is good for the students. As for the writers of beginners' Latin books, let them first eat their own pages; then digest Ernout-Thomas, if they can; and begin all over again themselves.

Of course there are some matters of dispute. Why must *infittias ire* with acc. (p. 19) be "d'après *negare*"? The case of *animum aduertere, manum inicere* (p. 31) is the same, but the explanation offered for these is different, and (I think) the correct one, that the group is simply equivalent to a transitive verb. And some misprints: for *Emerita* "XLV" read "XIV" (p. 7). Or explanations too curtailed: e.g. (p. 20), *pro deum... fidem* sc. *imploro* still leaves *pro* up in the air (but in Hofmann's *Umgangsspr.* [p. 28] we find *Caecil. com. 211 pro deum... clamo fidem*, i.e. *deum... proclamo fidem*; as the etymological diction-

aries say, the interjection *pro* is, at bottom, identical with the adverb *pro*. Harper not only sets up a separate word, but mistakenly writes "with nom." instead of "with voc." e.g., *pro supreme Iuppiter*). Or somewhat sparingly illustrated: e.g., page 21 (acc. abs.) add *CE 626 qui impleta tempora cessit*, Dessau 9395 *structores C. Marium et C. Aemilium*; nom. abs. p. 12, Engström *CE 358.8* from *NdSc 1905*, 104 *cui coniux moriens non fuit alter amor*, (though XII Tab. I. 7 *cum peroranto, ambo praesentes*, alleged by Schrijnen *Neophilologus*, XI [1926], 218, is dubious). Appeal to the dialects is sparing, but the ascription of *indutus pallam* and the like (p. 25) to Greek influence is hard to credit in view of Umbrian *perca(m) arsmatiam anouihimu* "uirgam ritualem induitor" (*Tab. Ig.* 6b, 49).

Nothing is said (p. 362) about "repraesentatio," the limitations to which it is subject or the reasons for them. The clear exposition of this matter in an appendix to Conway's edition of *Livy 2* (Pitt Press series) deserves not to be overlooked. Another loadstone (for me) is the gerund; it is true (p. 225) that Romance specialized the first conjugation *-ando*, but it seems unnecessary to write **canando* (= *canendo*) > fr. "en chantant," when Latin itself has *cantando*. Finally (p. 175) the type **hanc rem paratur* is said not to be attested without doubt in Latin; but Hofmann (*Lat. Gram.*, p. 380), like Lindsay before him, feels no doubt about *uitam uiuitur* (*Ennius Sc.* 241).

Ernout-Thomas is not a comparative syntax, nor even a historical syntax of Latin. But it has the outlook, and uses the results, of historical grammar. This is what makes it interesting reading, most of all the paragraphs in small print, where the authors permit themselves some discussion of alternative opinion.

JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

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Christianity and Pagan Culture in the Later Roman Empire together with an English Translation of John Chrysostom's Address on Vainglory and the Right Way for Parents to Bring Up Their Children. By M. L. W. LAISTNER. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1951. Pp. x+145. \$2.50

To the perennially interesting literature on ancient education Professor Laistner has made a useful addition. The book had its origin in three lectures delivered at the University of Virginia. To the text of these the author has added his own translation of St. John Chrysostom's treatise on the rearing of children, which has never before been available in a complete English translation.

Professor Laistner's purpose (pp. 2-3) is "to contrast the old established pagan theory and practice [of education] with what may be called the perfect training of a Christian, and then to study in some of the Christian writers of the third and fourth centuries what was in effect a compromise." The three chapters of the book are devoted to "Pagan Culture in its Decline" (the curriculum and technique of the old pagan education in rhetoric and philosophy, and scientific education), "The Training of the Christian Convert" (the methods of teaching catechumens and of training their instructors, as shown by the works of such teachers as Chrysostom, Augustine, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Gregory of Nyssa, Ambrose and Niceta), and "The Higher Education of Christians" (on the way in which the pagan and the Christian purposes and methods were reconciled in an eventual compromise, and the varying attitudes of the Fathers toward the role of pagan literature in the education of a Christian).

Chrysostom's treatise, which deals with the responsibilities of parents and with the moral training of children rather than their academic instruction, is brief, sympathetic and winning. It shows a real knowledge of the minds of children and of the ways in which their interests can be aroused and guided, and it can be read with profit by

any parent or teacher. This reviewer may venture to question the value of retaining the cumbersome title which has been attached to the work. The remarks on Vainglory are quite subordinate to the main purpose of the treatise, and the retention of this word in the title gives a false impression of the purpose of the work, especially if it is cited in abbreviated form, as in B. Altaner, *Patrologie*, ed.⁴ (Freiburg, 1950), p. 281, where *De inani glor.* fails to indicate the real nature of the treatise.

A few suggestions concerning the translation may be offered. *P. 85, l. 7*: — there might be a question whether εὐγενές, in this context, means "healthy." *P. 86, l. 6*: — for overturn her to carry her off, read stir her up so as to lead her forth. *P. 87, l. 11*: — for he takes read you take (this construction being characteristic of Chrysostom's method). *P. 87, l. 13*: — for his read the. *P. 87, l. 4 from foot*: — for "ruler" should one read "patron" (προστάτην)? Cf. p. 89, l. 10. *P. 88, ll. 5-9*: — this sentence seems to the reviewer to be imperative rather than interrogative. *P. 88, l. 12 from foot*: — should one understand "this day" instead of "daylight"? *P. 95, l. 8 from foot*: — the force of the characteristic phrase εἰς αὐτόν seems to have been lost. *P. 102, l. 5*: — παρὰ παιδῶν seems not to have been rendered. *P. 104, l. 3 from foot*: — "gluttony" would represent γαστριμαργία better than "greed." *P. 110, l. 7*: — for herbs read incense (θυμιάματα) *P. 111, l. 15*: — τοὺς ἀστέρας has not been translated. *P. 111, l. 13 from foot*: — might θείας ἐπαφάς be protective formulas rather than hymns? *P. 117, l. 8*: — for involves read is a part of; μεγίστης is not rendered. *P. 119, l. 7*: — would the sense be clearer if ἀλλά were rendered "but" instead of "and"?

All students of this important subject will be grateful to Professor Laistner for this contribution to it.

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Papyri and Ostraca from Karanis, Second Series. Edited by HERBERT CHAYYIM YOUTIE and JOHN GARRETT WINTER. ("Michigan Papyri," Vol. VIII.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1951. Pp. xxii+266+11 pls. \$12.50.

Papyrology is without doubt the leading post-war casualty in classical studies in America. When one recalls how many classical texts the papyri have given us and how much they have added in the last sixty years to our knowledge in practically every area of ancient studies, and when one reflects that there are thousands of texts still to be edited and that even the mine of published texts has been only tapped and nowhere near fully exploited, it becomes impossible to view with complacency the sharp decline from the healthy activity of the 1930's, when the United States had four major centers of papyrological studies. Today that activity continues unabated only at the University of Michigan.

The latest volume of the *Michigan Papyri* contains 58 private letters of the first to fourth centuries and 140 ostraca of the second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D., bringing the number of documents published in this series to 521 papyri and 1111 ostraca.

Those who have seen any of Professor Youtie's writings on ostraca texts in the last dozen years will not need to be told of his acuity and acumen in the decipherment of the crabbed stenography of the ancient potsherds. The ostraca in the present volume are almost all of the usual types — tax receipts, quittances for compulsory public services, accounts and lists of all kinds, students' exercises. Among the few unusual texts are a writing exercise in which Homer is called a god (No. 1100; excellent footnote), and a cryptic notation reading ἀρχαία βουβλία καὶ ὁμοιώματα μηδὲ διαβεβλημένων (No. 1101), where the editor suggests, hesitantly, that the last word may mean "collated," a sense not hitherto attested for διαβάλλω. It seems to me that from that verb's primary meaning of "attack" or "pass over" we more readily

derive for this context the more generalized sense of "handle"; that this ostrakon, in other words, served as a marker for "original papers and copies not yet taken care of," whether for sorting, extracting, or whatever was being done with them.

Documents of private life are Professor Winter's major interest among the papyri. The letters of this volume, edited by him and Professor Youtie, run the usual gamut of personal concerns; their unusual feature is that most of them are connected, directly or indirectly, with the Roman army. Particularly noteworthy are the large number of Roman or Romanized names that occur, and the abundant evidence on the transfer of words and idioms from Latin into Greek and vice versa in the army language of the eastern provinces.

Among the most interesting pieces are two letters (Nos. 465-66) written in A.D. 107 by a soldier from Egypt stationed at Bostra. He is happy at being an officer and consequently exempt from the manual labor ("cutting stones and doing other things") in which the rank and file are engaged. Petra, he relates, lies eight days' journey away, "merchants come to us daily from Pelusium," and "fine garments, ebony(?), pearls, and unguents are brought here in abundance." Incidentally, No. 466 provides the earliest dated mention of Claudius Severus, the first governor of *Provincia Arabia*. No. 473 provides an arresting detail, rarely encountered in the papyri though familiar enough in the ancient world — compensation for homicide by payment of money to the family of the victim. The plea in extenuation is, in the language of today, "temporary insanity." No. 477 (early second century) mentions a riot in Alexandria of which we should be glad to know more; all the letter tells us is that the riot was suppressed by the army.

Nearly a third of the entire volume is devoted, deservedly, to an early second-century archive (Nos. 467-81), the interest of which is heightened by the fact that six of its fifteen letters are written in Latin. The central figure of this correspondence is

one Tiberianus, who appears first as a soldier and later as a veteran. Ten of the letters are addressed to him by Terentianus, who calls him "father." Curiously enough, Terentianus also refers to a certain Ptolemaeus as his father. The editors, after reviewing the possible solutions of this puzzle, incline to the view that Tiberianus is the real parent while in the case of Ptolemaeus "father" is the Oriental term of respect for an elder. To this reviewer — who admittedly has not studied the material as closely as have the editors — the situation seems rather to be the reverse. In two letters (468, cf. 467) to Tiberianus who is elsewhere in active service, Terentianus speaks of "my mother, my father Ptolemaeus, and all my brothers ... at home." Does it not give a more natural and more satisfactory picture of the situation to assume that these were Terentianus' family, and to see in Tiberianus a patron or adoptive father who, being a soldier, was in a position to foster the young man's military career? Terentianus, we learn from the correspondence, was first enrolled in the Alexandrian fleet but eventually secured a transfer to a cohort, which gave him legionary status. To obtain such advancement, he remarks, required two things — money and influence: "I hope to live frugally and to be transferred to a cohort; but here nothing will be accomplished without money, and letters of recommendation will have no value unless a man help himself" (p. 32).

Two points of detail, to conclude: (1) *No. 468, line 19*: While it is true, as the editors remark (note *ad loc.*), that objects were frequently enclosed in letters, I doubt that in the shipment of miscellaneous goods here mentioned the ink was actually wrapped up in the writing paper. I suggest reading *in charta* <*m*> *atramentum* (the same emendation is required frequently in this document), i.e., "ink for (use on) the papyrus." (2) *No. 489, line 7*: Cannot the troublesome word be read as ἐκμείνασι? Though the verb ἐκμείνω does not appear in our lexicons, there is no intrinsic objection to such a compound.

One puts down this volume as one did its predecessors — grateful to the men of Michigan for their assiduous labors, and looking forward to the next volume in the series, wondering how soon it will be out and what it will contain.

NAPHTALI LEWIS

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A Descriptive Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the Collection of Wilfred Merton, F.S.A., Vol. I. Edited by H. IDRIS BELL and C. H. ROBERTS. London: Emery Walker Limited, 38 Museum Street W.C.1, 1948. Pp. xiv+182+51 pls. £12.12.

Sir Wilfred Merton's aim in making his collection was to acquire "a representative series illustrating the history of Greek handwriting during the period from which papyrus manuscripts survive." Nothing could suit the student of paleography better than this volume. The plates are superb, the emphasis is on non-literary documents, which editors hitherto in their choice of illustrations have generally slighted in favor of literary pieces, and the number of documents which are exactly dated is far higher than average.

No volume of papyri, not even the sumptuous publications of the balmy pre-World War I days of papyrus editions, can surpass this one in beauty. The page size is 7½" by 11", the paper is of excellent quality, the type, both Greek and Roman, is large and handsome, the margins are spacious, and each of the fifty documents is accompanied by a plate. The majority of these are full-page. Sometimes two documents of small size share a plate but, to make up for this, eight pieces are given a double-page spread.

There are just three literary pieces: some fragments of the *Odyssey* of comparatively early date (second century B.C.), two leaves of Isaiah that are part of one of the famous Chester Beatty codices and date from the first half of the third B.C., and a leaf of a codex of the *Iliad* from the third A.D. important as an early example of the use of the codex for classical litera-

ture, as well as for its profuse accentuation. The 47 non-literary pieces range from the third B.C. to the eighth A.D. and of them fully 26 are exactly dated. The Ptolemaic period is represented by four papyri, the first A.D. by five, the second by twelve, the third by five, the fourth by nine. The fifth A.D., that dark age of Greek paleography, is represented by one dated document (A.D. 406), by three that are ascribed to it, and by two that may belong either to it or the late fourth. The volume is weakest in the late periods: there are four Byzantine and two post-Conquest pieces but none are dated. This lack is not very serious since the paleographer can turn for the Byzantine period to the magnificent plates in Heisenberg and Wenger's edition of the papyri in the Munich *Staatsbibliothek*. The chancery hand, that style of writing which was practised by the clerks of the official bureaus and is so distinctive that it can be traced from the early second A.D. on, is illustrated by two pieces, one ascribed to the fifth, the other to the fifth-sixth A.D., while the last document, an account of the eighth A.D., is in the "minuscule" form of hand used by the chanceries of that period (cf. the letter published by Bell in the *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.*, XII (1926), 265-75 and plate xvli).

The papyri, selected as they were for paleographical reasons, offer nothing startlingly new in their contents. They are, however, far from being run-of-the-mine. No. 36, e.g., is the earliest example (A.D. 360) of a rather uncommon type of document, a lease disguised as an acknowledgment of indebtedness by the lessee. No. 39, an inventory of building materials, is of considerable lexicographical interest. No. 12, dated A.D. 58, is a most interesting letter addressed to a doctor probably by another doctor concerning some prescriptions that the former had sent. All the pieces have been edited with translation and full commentary in the impeccable fashion that is characteristic of the work of Bell and Roberts.

LIONEL CASSON

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Sophocles: A Study of Heroic Humanism.

By CEDRIC H. WHITMAN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951. Pp. 292. \$4.75.

Sophocles is the last major Greek author to be reinterpreted. "Classicism" has been in retreat on all fronts, in classical studies and outside them, since the nineteenth century; but the more the outposts have fallen the more the Winckelmannian conception of the "Greek spirit" has fallen back upon Sophocles as the main fortress. Archetype of "restraint" and "serenity," apostle of piety, supreme artist concealed by his art — the "happy Sophocles" has resisted historical and individualistic interpretation alike with surprising tenacity. Yet we must try to reinterpret Sophocles too, if we are to understand him through our own modern brains and sensibilities. And, in spite of the official tradition, we all sense more or less obscurely that there is another spirit hidden behind the symmetry of his life and his work, a Sophocles conversant with something deeper than art or simple piety. Alcibiades uncovered the Silenus paradox in Socrates through the force of Eros. Sophocles is even more elusive; one approaches a new book on him with expectation, but also with skepticism.

Whitman has rolled back an important part of the mystery and shown the direction for further advance. His book is not about "Sophocles the artist," though he by no means neglects the art, and he rejects (p. 20) the easy solution that Sophocles gave up the problem of man's relation to fate and the gods and concentrated his attention on man alone. Neither is the theme the "thought" of Sophocles, in the usual sense of a set of ideas distilled from the choral odes and certain other special sources to supply a commentary on the action. On the contrary, the author takes what I think is the only fruitful approach, through the action itself. "Attention must be focused not on the chorus, which embodies the framework, but on the hero himself. The real moral nature of his position must be

judged only [this is the doubtful word; see below] by his own standard as he reveals it in the play, and by the moral choices open to him in the action" (p. 16). The positive and valuable part of the book is this analysis of the nature and position of the hero as revealed in the action; Whitman's conclusions, and some of his premises, are another matter.

For the traditional concept of Sophoclean piety Whitman substitutes what he calls "heroic humanism." Part One lays the foundations by arguing the sterility and contradictoriness of the old view and showing the new direction that has been marked out in more recent work (especially Weinstock and Reinhardt; Whitman is very severe with Bowra); this is followed by a careful and on the whole conservative review of what we know or can surmise about the chronology of the extant plays. Parts Two, Three, and Four analyze the plays themselves, in chronological order (which Whitman interprets as an order of development); Part Five summarizes by setting Sophocles in the context of fifth-century intellectual development, and by essaying a "metaphysic of humanism."

The central concept of "heroic humanism" comes to something like this: The meaning of a Sophoclean play is concentrated in the protagonist, whose superhuman excellence (*arete*) drives him inescapably into conflict with society or the gods, or both, and so — usually — into destruction. Self-destructiveness is not accidental but inherent in the hero's make-up, because the autonomous moral law by which he is possessed is out of scale and out of harmony with the world and yet he must assert it or cease to be himself. Hence society cannot understand or accept him. As for the gods, either they are mere symbols of the hero's own nature and so contribute nothing to his fate that was not there already, or they represent an active force of evil which co-operates to destroy him. Whitman finds a development of thought among the plays in this respect, from confidence (*Ajax*, *Antigone*) through unmitigated pessimism (*Trachiniae*, *Oedi-*

pus Rex) to a new and deeper faith in the last plays, where the hero is justified at the end (especially *Philoctetes* and *Oedipus at Colonus*). But in any case he is not justified by the gods; his autonomous *arete* did not come from them and does not need their sanction. The inward law, whether it triumphs or is destroyed, is an immanent divinity, independent of the gods and responsible only to itself.

Whitman has refined and developed an important *aperçu* of Reinhardt's (see pp. 26, 73), that the significant thing about a Sophoclean hero is his isolation. Since he is isolated and out of scale with those around him, what they say about him — this means particularly the chorus: see pp. 16, 31, 91, 133-35 — is not significant. The hero's secret is revealed by what he does. This concentration on the action leads Whitman again and again to triumphs of insight, sometimes for whole plays, more often for crucial scenes if not for the whole. I think the most brilliant of these is his explanation of the *Electra*, notoriously a crux in the interpretation of Sophocles. Putting the center of gravity not in the act of vengeance but in *Electra's* suffering transforms the play from a virtuoso melodrama into a tragedy. Suffering is *Electra's* form of action; her ability to endure it is the test of her *arete* (pp. 165-66). Whitman comes very close here to the thesis of Schadewaldt's little book *Sophokles und das Leid*, but with an important addition, the idea of time as the tester and refiner of *arete*; his application of this idea to the last three plays is one of the best things in the book.

Elsewhere we are given a fine treatment of Deianeira (pp. 112-18), of scenes like that between *Oedipus* and *Jocasta* (pp. 130-38), of *Antigone's* last moments (pp. 92-93) — to cite only a few of many sensitive and eloquent passages. But I had rather consider Whitman's treatment of the *Philoctetes*, because it illustrates both the strength and the weakness of his approach. Here the heroic soul, suffering in isolation, rejects the emissaries of the world and in so doing converts one of

them, or rather reveals to Neoptolemus the bond of *arete* that links him to the hero, against the world; and this free alliance of *arete* in turn releases the hero, because he has won the battle on his own terms, through *arete*. *Philoctetes* is inwardly ready to return to the world, that is, to go to Troy, and when *Heracles* appears to him it is not a message from the gods — or Sophocles' device for cutting a knot — but a manifestation of his own divine *arete* in symbolic form (p. 187).

Everything is precise and beautifully felt and argued here — until the final epiphany. For it is inherent in Whitman's point of view that he will not allow it to be a real epiphany. Nothing in the nature of things reaches out to greet and welcome *Philoctetes* in the final scene; *Heracles* is only a projection of his own nature. Man rises to divinity by his own motion, not by any *ὑποστάσις θεῶν*. To Whitman "immanent divinity" is a self-subsistent reality in an amoral world; or, as he puts it later (p. 248), the divine and the human can be represented as two secant circles, one amoral, the other moral, with the heroic soul located in the intersecting part. For "amoral" we can read "evil", so far as *Trachiniae* (see p. 120 on "Zeus") and *Oedipus Rex* (p. 127) are concerned, and so arrive at the paradox that Sophocles makes the gods real powers only when they are evil but uses them only as symbols when they seem to be good or to recognize and approve good in the hero (cf. pp. 69-70, 95, 120, 187, 212-14).

The antinomies will not out. A Greek would have been particularly sensitive, I think, to the incongruity of the notion that man can achieve and authenticate divinity (*τὸ θεῖον*) for himself, without the gods (*θεοί*). The idea comes perilously close not only to Protagorean relativism (with which Whitman himself compares it, p. 231) but to the existentialism of Weinstock (which he criticizes, p. 27). Whatever the gods mean in Sophocles, they cannot be explained away or simply equated with evil. A "framework" remains. It cannot be drawn in rashly or naively to explain the

nature of the hero — for that we must follow the action, as Whitman shows — but it remains at the end, enclosing him with all his suffering and his moral triumph in a larger canvas. With this reservation, Whitman's method is brilliantly justified, for example against the *hamartia*-hunters who have puzzled over Antigone's stubbornness (pp. 85-90) or Oedipus' hot temper (pp. 130-32). What he says in general about the barrenness of the search for *hamartiai* (pp. 29-33) is quite right; but he should not have blamed Aristotle for these follies. In spite of Harsh and the others whom he follows (see pp. 33-36 and notes 35, 37), Aristotle meant by *hamartia* an error or ignorance of fact, not a moral flaw.

The conception of a development in Sophocles' thought can be questioned on a *priori* grounds, considering that the whole alleged process takes place in the second half of Sophocles' life and is based on seven plays out of 120 (Whitman takes cognizance of this objection in the Preface). Similarly one may doubt him when he accepts the fairly common idea of a "development" between the *Ajax* and the *Antigone*, even if one extends the interval to five years (following the rather enticing suggestion, pp. 45-46, that the *Ajax* was written shortly after the death of Cimon, as early as 447). In general, the whole idea of "development" in ancient authors needs to be handled with caution, even in cases where it has become the established approach and has led to impressive results.

The final essay on the "metaphysic of humanism" suffers from an unfortunate error, and a useless one because Whitman need not have rested his argument on it. He finds a *point d'appui* for his appraisal of the Sophoclean hero in the seventh book of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, where Aristotle is discussing ἀκρασία, "incontinence." But that discussion has nothing to do with Whitman's theory, and the "noble incontinence" of Neoptolemus (1146^a 19) is not Aristotle's idea; it belongs to the preliminary dialectical presentation of popular opinions and is offered as an absurd or

paradoxical consequence of one of them. Nor did Aristotle approve of Niobe (1148^a 33ff.); for him she is an example of a praiseworthy motive carried to a culpable extreme.

In sum, Whitman's book is a brilliant piece of work which fails to establish its main thesis but shows on every page the value of the new approach, through the hero and his evaluation of his own nature. Corrections are needed, but not a return to the old cliché's about Sophoclean piety. A new level of sensitivity is required, for which the standard is set here.

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Die Kabiren. By BENGT HEMBERG. (Dissertation, University of Uppsala.) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1950. Pp. 420. Kr. 25.

The origin and even the nature of the cult of the Cabiri is one of the most puzzling chapters in ancient Greek religion. It was a puzzle even in antiquity, as Strabo, trying to answer the question, Who were the Curetes? (10. 3. 1-23), and Pausanias, describing the sanctuary of the Cabiri in Boeotia (9. 25. 5-26. 4), both acknowledge. It is generally recognized today that their cult was in existence by the end of the Archaic age, that it had come from the East, that its ultimate origin is to be sought in remote prehistory, and that it (like many another cult in the Greek world, long before the era of "syncretism") identified itself with or absorbed others as time went by. The first literary evidence for the cult is in the fifth century, when Aeschylus, perhaps led by the geographical feeling which is so marked in him, identified the Cabiri with the Argonauts; but as the various cults of the Greek world continued to meet and mingle, the Cabiri were identified with others, including the Samothracian "Great Gods," the Dioscuri, and even the Roman Castor and Pullux. (See M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*, I [1941], 634-637; II [1950], 95-97.)

Dr. Hemberg's inaugural dissertation at Uppsala is a magnificent survey of the surviving literary and archeological data upon which our scanty modern knowledge of the Cabiri rests. The bibliography of writings both ancient and modern, of inscriptions, classified geographically, and the analysis of the views of different scholars since the rise of modern classical study — all this places in the student's hands the most complete *apparatus* for the study of the Cabiri and their cult or cults. The author is reserved in his conclusions: he does not think the study has come to an end with his researches; the time has not yet come for a final judgment upon many of the data, some of them still as obscure as they were to Strabo or Pausanias. But he is sure that the origin of the cult, i.e., its arrival in the Greek world, lay back in Ras Shamra times, perhaps fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C., when Greek expansion first brought the Asiatic Greeks into contact with the Phoenicians — or if we cannot say "Asiatic Greeks," then those who were destined to become the Asiatic Greeks.

It was not only their origin among the seafaring Phoenicians but also their identification with the *Megaloi Theoi* of the Island of Samothrace which doubtless led to their widespread popularity in the Hellenistic Age as the favorite deities of many seamen — gods who came to their rescue in storm and tempest; their identification with the Dioscuri was inevitable. But that the identification with these and other gods was never complete is clear from the survival of terminology from an earlier period: in Samothrace the name Cabiri never got itself completely adopted (p. 301). In view of the constant process of syncretism, we must not rely too much upon etymology, though Hemberg accepts the view of Scaliger and others (as we have seen) and adduces philological evidence to support the Semitic — i.e. Phoenician — background and origin of the name: *kbr* = *anax* = 'mighty one.' And we must not overlook the limitations of our knowledge. In spite of Lehmann's lucky find, in 1948, of two

periboloi on the Island of Samothrace — thus proving that the cultus was performed in the open air — we still do not know enough about either the myth or the rites of the Cabiri (or the Samothracian gods) to speak confidently one way or the other.

But it is certainly a step forward when, thanks to Dr. Hemberg, and to the twenty years of careful, patient, tireless labor he has expended upon the research that produced this book, we have such a collection of the available material as now lies before us; and it is also a mark of progress when we learn the limitations of our knowledge and the need for more light before we can frame a judgment upon the subject — unless we are to plunge into reckless speculation. The book is a model of the collection and collation of materials for present and future study.

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The Political Theory of the Old and Middle Stoa. By MARGARET E. REESOR. (Dissertation, Bryn Mawr, n.d.) New York: J. J. Augustin, 1951. Pp. x + 60.

Miss Reesor has examined a large number of passages bearing on Stoic political theory and has derived from them several different points of view, which she has arranged in chronological sequence and assigned to individual members of the school. She is careful to point out the difficulties of reconstructing the views of the philosophers on the basis of fragmentary and indirect evidence, and she indicates clearly the stand she takes on the obscure source problems encountered in the course of her study.

The variations she discovers in Stoic views are indeed tremendous. For example, Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus showed contempt for social usage but recognized a universal society and taught that the wise man should take part in public affairs. Diogenes of Babylon regarded moral virtue as simply obedience to existing regulations, and Antipater said it is man's duty to

defend and assist his fatherland. Sphaerus and Blossius supported socialistic programs of reform, while Panaetius and his pupils came out strongly in support of private property. Posidonius recognized a group of men whose importance to the state was so great that they could afford to be indifferent to morality itself! If these conclusions are correct, one cannot but wonder what inner logic there could have been in a philosophy which permitted its followers to take such seemingly contradictory stands. This question, however, lies outside the scope of Miss Reesor's investigation.

At times the study is inexact or unconvincing. It appears to have been condensed from a fuller original, and in the process some of the author's opinions have been left unsupported (e.g., p. 47, first paragraph). Some justification is needed for the use of "haphazard organization" as evidence that "Cicero himself was the sole source" of a passage (p. 34, note 17). This seems most unfair to such a great literary artist. Another questionable principle is that "two points of view indicate two separate sources" (p. 40, cf. p. 42). It is not uncommon to find more than one point of view mentioned in a single philosophical work. And is it likely that Cicero would take the stories of Regulus and Fabricius from the writings of Panaetius (p. 31)?

There is an excessive number of misprints, and errors of detail are more frequent than one would expect in a work of this kind. It is especially misleading (p. 28) to translate Cicero's words "non interpretatus" by the phrase "without adding my own interpretation." Surely Cicero meant the exact opposite.

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Prolegomena to Sextus Empiricus. By KAREL JANÁČEK. ("Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis," No. 4.) Olomouc: Nákladem Palackého University. Pp. 64.

Sextus Empiricus is valued chiefly for the information he gives about the history of Greek philosophy and learning: no one regards him as a great thinker, though most agree that he was a competent critic and a few find him entertaining. Little attention has been paid to the linguistic and literary features of his work, beyond the observation that he talks like a logician; and indeed his sentences are greatly influenced by the formulas of logic.

But this neglect of Sextus' language and style is not entirely justified. Even the seeming transparency of his writing may, on examination, reveal subtleties that escape the casual reader. And as he was so largely concerned with the teachings of others — whether his predecessors in skepticism or their dogmatic opponents — it is of the utmost importance to be able to determine whether his statement, for example, of the Stoic view of the nature of truth (*Adv. math.* 7.38-45) is expressed in his own words or in the words of the Stoics themselves. And in addition, as Sextus' extant writings contain cross-references that establish their chronological sequence, a study of his style and language may furnish some clues to possible changes or developments in his outlook.

In his *Prolegomena to Sextus Empiricus* K. Janáček announces an ambitious series of studies intended to fill the need for an analysis of Sextus' style. Janáček's point of departure is the comparison of passages of similar content in the *Pyrrhoneioi hypotyposeis* and *Adversus mathematicos*, 7-11. He finds differences in the use of particles, the choice of words, and sentence structure, which indicate "a development, or at least a change" in Sextus' style. He gives a few examples only in the *Prolegomena*, but an exhaustive publication of the material is the first of his projected studies. The next step is a comparison of *Adv. math.* 7-11 with *Adv. math.* 1-6, with perhaps a new edition of the latter text. A vocabulary of the works will follow and, after that, individual studies of the three works, an analysis of Sextus' use of quotations, and

finally a stylistic comparison of Sextus' works with other sources of Greek Skepticism. Some of these studies, the author states, are nearly finished, and others could be completed in a comparatively short time.

So far as one may judge from the *Prolegomena*, Janáček's studies will add materially to the understanding of Sextus, and there is every reason to hope that they will be successfully completed.

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P. Cornelii Taciti libri qui supersunt, Vol. II, Fasc. 1: *Historiarum libri*. Post C. HALM-G. ANDRESEN septimum edidit ERICUS KOESTERMANN. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1950. Pp. 260. \$3.07.

Fascicle I of this volume contains only the *Histories*; the "Minor Works" have already (1949) appeared as Fascicle II. Although the print is now clearer than in the previous edition, the paper is of poorer quality. As before, there are appended the "Fragmenta Historiarum" and an "Index Historicus," and the reader is referred to the "Praefatio" of Volume I. Two additions are the "Notae" (p. 2; at least three abbreviations are missing: Bött. = Bötticher, Lamb. = Lambinus, and Vertran. = Vertranus) and the Latin captions at the top of each page. The editor strives for greater consistency in orthography and greater clarity in references by indicating chapter subdivisions.

The text of this seventh edition of Tacitus' *Histories* by Koestermann is generally more conservative and exact than that of the previous edition. That is, he indulges less in conjectural emendations and is more careful throughout in the use of pointed brackets. Imperfections, however, remain. Although many errors or misprints in the text of the sixth edition, including those pointed out by Allen (*CJ*, XXXIV [1939], 366), have been corrected, several others have crept in (e.g., *Vini*, p. 42. 11 [*Vinii*

at 18]; *corhortibus*, p. 45. 28; and *eaede*,¹ p. 223. 1). *Meatui*, which was introduced without note in the previous edition (p. 34. 2; a misprint?), now appears as *meatu* (p. 36. 26), again without comment. No explanation is given for *in <su>spicionem* (p. 46. 33), or *perin<de>*, *<di>dicit*, and *pecunia<ru>m* (p. 97. 13, 15, and 17 respectively), etc. For greater meticulousity one must still consult Giarratano's edition (Rome, 1939). Few misprints were noted in the critical *apparatus* (cf. p. 13. 27 *duoetvicensiman* [... *m*]; p. 14. 33 *taurus* [*taurus*]; p. 86. 20 *Internamam* [*Interamnam*] and III... 63, 2 [63, 1]; etc.).

Koestermann's conservatism is shown by care in retracting, or removing altogether, some of the less significant emendations. In such cases, he tends to follow Giarratano's choice of emendations or manuscript readings and frequently relegates his own former emendations to the *apparatus criticus* (e.g., on p. 19. 31 he now reads in the text with Giarratano *signa <quam>* [*quam* add. Heinsius] in place of *signa seu* [*sic!*]; similarly, on p. 54. 14 *Achaiae urbe* of M in place of *<in> Achaiae urbe*, and on p. 165. 21 *fugeret* for *<trans>fugeret*). Many of the queries (e.g., "*an ... ?*") which formerly appeared in the *apparatus criticus*, but were not incorporated in the text, have been removed or changed to "... *Koest.*" (as on p. 11. 26).

Koestermann adds to the *apparatus* of this edition numerous conjectures made both by others and by himself (for examples of the latter, cf. p. 4. 4 where he now suggests in the *apparatus varium* for *opimum* [a correction of the *dett.* for *opib*; M] in the text, and 15 *vasta* for *vastata* of M; similarly, p. 20. 4 *diffidebant* for *diffidebatur*, Acidalius' emendation of *diffide/bat* M; p. 52. 22 *magn. <rei>* for *magnitudine* of M; p. 87. 5 *interpretabatur <quoque>* for *<et> interpretabatur* with Ernesti; p. 88. 19 *<partam> bello* for *Vitellio*, Doederlein's correction of *bello* M; p. 89. 24 *pauciores* for *paucos* of M; and

1. It is amusing to note two manuscript corrections in the critical *apparatus*: *caedem* (*caedem* (p. 74. 11), and *caedem*] *caedem* (p. 208. 6).

p. 103. 11 *et* <*iam*> for *et* of M; examples can be multiplied from books 3 and 4). Most of the conjectures made by others are apparently gleaned from Giarratano's edition and, when accepted there, are usually indicated by "*prob. Giarr.*" or "... *et Giarr.*" (e.g., p. 11. 13 <*gentis*> *Sulpiciae* Ern.; p. 26. 21 *honori* Nipp., for *honore*; p. 27. 3 *iussit* Weidner, for *iussum*; p. 28. 25 *temerasset* Rhen. *et* Giarr., for *tēperasset* M, but with *templasset* of Put. in the text; p. 31. 3 *donatos* <*se*> Festa, but omits "*et Giarr.*"; p. 99. 22 again Festa; and p. 157. 21 [*reg. Italiae Caracina*] Nipp. probante Giarr., with [*regione Italiae*] from Ern. and <*e*> *Caracinae* from Madv. in the text for *regione Italię care/cinę* of M).

There is some improvement over the former edition in the proper assignment of conjectures (cf. p. 14. 21 *milies* Faërnus, formerly Lambinus; p. 50. 3 <*parata*> *ad* p. C. Her. *et* Koest., formerly Koestermann; p. 119. 5 <*in*> *dextro* Cast., formerly "*an in dextro?*"; p. 170. 7 *armatae* al., formerly Koestermann; etc.). However, Koestermann cannot claim <*a*> *quocumque* (p. 66. 18). Lipsius expressed a preference for this reading, as was noted by Boyer in her review² of Giarratano's edition.

Readings new to this edition are infrequently added to the text. Emendations made by Koestermann himself can be found, for example, on page 23. 14 <*inter*> *verterunt*, formerly *verterunt*, for *perierunt* of M, and page 166. 25 <*sed*> *Flaccus*, formerly <*set*>; those by others, on page 19. 31 (see above) and page 31. 21 *imper<it>andi* Fisher *et* Giarr., formerly *imperidandi* Nipperdey, for *Imperandi* (*sed* *ra in ras.*) M. On page 176. 17 Koestermann adopts Giarratano's emendation *desertos* <*se derelictos*> *que* (formerly *desertos se of det. for desertos que* of M), but on page 182. 19 he abandons his own <*a*> *Cyrenensibus* <*delatus*>, which had been accepted by Giarratano, for *Cyrenensibus* <*accusantibus*> of Heraeus. Anomalies of this nature occur *passim*. Apparently the editor has

not referred to any periodical literature subsequent to 1939.

Koestermann displays great dependence upon Giarratano's edition, not only for the increased number of conjectures cited in the *apparatus* and for explanatory notes, but even for the elimination of conjectures. It is to Koestermann's credit, of course, that he has made a discriminating use of Giarratano's edition. However, a close collation of the two works reveals that, in most respects, the latter "edition gives more complete and more accurate information than any or all of its predecessors"³ and of its successors which have appeared so far.

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Das Alpha impurum und die tragische Kunstsprache: Attische Wort- und Stilstudien. By GUDMUND BJÖRCK. ("Skriifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala," No. 39: 1.) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1950. Pp. 392. Kr. 30.

This painstaking and judicious book discusses the impure alpha in Attic and especially in tragedy — $\bar{\alpha}$ not preceded by ϵ , ι , or ρ . (1) *Alpha impurum* arising from phonetic or morphological causes, e.g. $\nu\iota\kappa\bar{\alpha}\nu$, $\delta\sigma\tau\bar{\alpha}$, $\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\rho$, $\pi\bar{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\bar{\alpha}\nu\alpha$, $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\omega$, $\theta\bar{\alpha}\tau\tau\omega\nu$, is quickly dismissed. (2) Colloquial words like $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\bar{\alpha}\acute{\zeta}$, $\lambda\bar{\alpha}\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega$ and words belonging to a special vocabulary $\rho\acute{\upsilon}\bar{\alpha}\acute{\zeta}$, $\acute{\alpha}\chi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\bar{\alpha}\acute{\zeta}$, $\lambda\omicron\chi\bar{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\zeta}$ are shown with certainty or plausibility to be borrowings. These classes account for practically all occurrences of $\bar{\alpha}$ in Attic comedy and prose. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\bar{\alpha}\nu$ and (in spite of Björck) $\delta\iota\kappa\bar{\alpha}\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\zeta}$ remain baffling. Otherwise, his rule is good (p. 157): "Where an *Alpha impurum* that has neither 'grammatical' nor familiar nor technical grounds appears in Attic outside of tragedy, the word in question is then poetic, as $(\sigma\upsilon\nu)\omicron\pi\alpha\delta\acute{\omicron}\delta\acute{\zeta}$ in Plato."

The other occurrences are limited to tragedy. (3) Where the letter appears in

2. Blanche B. Boyer, "The *Histories* of Tacitus," *CP*, XLIV (1949), 114.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

both dialogue and chorus, as in $\nu\bar{\alpha}\acute{\sigma}\epsilon\varsigma$, $\nu\bar{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\bar{\alpha}$, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ the metrically equivalent η -form is not Attic. To supplement their native language, the tragedians borrowed from the Dorian lyric rather than the Ionic iambus or the epic. They used the Dorisms alongside or oftener than the Attic $\nu\epsilon\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\nu\bar{\alpha}\theta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota\omicron\varsigma$, mainly for metrical convenience, although Björck recognizes other poetic motives, particularly for $\nu\bar{\alpha}\acute{\sigma}\epsilon\varsigma$, "temple." (Occasionally he misunderstands the meter: Eur. *Tro.* 155, 537, *IT* 1136, *Hec.* 1082, *El.* 315). His most solid work is on these Dorisms. (4) The opposite group has η even in choruses: $\mu\eta\eta\nu\epsilon\varsigma$, $\eta\mu\alpha\rho$ (rarely $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho$), $\kappa\eta\delta\omicron\varsigma$, and many more. He throws much light on such words, but their rationale still eludes us. Most of them were not ordinary Attic, but he avoids saying that here the poets preferred the Ionic to the Doric vocabulary. (5) "If a stem is spoken in choruses with an $\bar{\alpha}$, in dialogue with an η , it was normal Attic in the Fifth Century" (p. 182), e.g., $\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\rho$ - $\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\eta\rho$. The author derives this rule by simple conversion.

His logical fallacies spring mainly from a desire to give the $\nu\bar{\alpha}\acute{\sigma}\epsilon\varsigma$ - $\delta\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ group undue importance. It becomes a problem to say why an η appears in dialogue! $\tau\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\nu$ (in choruses usually $\tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\mu\omega\nu$) will not fit into the normal Attic class. $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$, which appears in Attic only three times (*Ajax* 520, 523, 1269), is treated as an anomaly, because $\mu\nu\bar{\alpha}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ is attested in Aleman and Simonides. If one of the three passages involving $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ were choral, Björck could neatly consign it to the $\mu\eta\eta\nu\epsilon\varsigma$ group. Somehow the method is preposterous. A related error is his extreme doctrine of the elimination of doublets from normal prose (p. 85). This is a *tendency*, which may not have been far advanced in Fifth Century Attic. It took centuries for $\tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\iota\nu\iota$ to crowd out $\tau\omicron\bar{\upsilon}$, $\tau\bar{\omega}$. Björck cautiously formulates a dangerous half-truth: "A word is un-Attic not because it is unrecorded in certain authors, but only when we are also able to say how it ought to be in Attic" (p. 189). The existence of $\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega$ allows him to

call $\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omega$, which occurs in dialogue, un-Attic — against his own rule, for choruses have $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\theta\omega$. The principle which illuminated $\nu\bar{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\bar{\alpha}$ obfuscates $\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omega$.

Björck's investigation should be carried a step further, until his imaginary anomalies emerge as loan-words from the epic or as remnants of older Attic speech. He has cleared away other men's errors on the latter subject; he has ably explored the history of dozens of words; and we must thank him especially for teaching future editors to respect the manuscripts and discard many false alphas which Porson and his successors have squeezed or smuggled into the text.

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Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry: An Anthology. By C. A. TRYPANIS. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1951. Pp. lxiv + 285. \$4.25.

The later manifestations of Greek literary creativeness are, for the most part, ignored by the scholars of the Western world. It is usually assumed that Greek literature ceased to live after the Hellenistic period. Certainly Western scholarship generally has not considered worthy of careful study the productions of the two thousand years during which Greek literature has continued to live after the subsidence of the classical impulse. Yet a more universal recognition of Greek literature in its medieval and modern aspects will make known the undiscerned beauty in later authors and will conduce to a more complete understanding of the greater literature of the ancient culture. For this reason the publication by Professor C. A. Trypanis of *An Anthology of Medieval and Modern Greek Poetry* (with an Introduction, Notes, and a Glossary) is a welcome contribution to Greek studies and a very auspicious sign that recognition of the significance of modern Greek literature is becoming more general.

The Introduction (pp. ix-lxiii) is a com-

compact historical sketch from A.D. 330 showing clearly the continuity of Greek poetry throughout its ancient, medieval, and modern periods. The value of this Introduction as an accurate and complete account is, however, vitiated by frequent dogmatism and conjecture, by the superfluous statement and repetition of known events and self-evident propositions, and by substantial omission, especially of poets during the Turkish occupation and after the independence of Greece. It is, for instance, astonishing to label as individualists the poets Vizyenos and Crystalles (p. lvii), especially on the basis of the poems by which Professor Trypanis has represented them, for the works of these poets, certainly, show that they cannot be separated from their natural and historical milieu. Further, it is scarcely accurate that there is no dramatic poetry in modern Greece and that "certain passages" only in the dramatic works of the nineteenth century poets, Vernardakes and Vasileiades, are noteworthy (p. lix). In confutation of these assertions it is sufficient to refer to the poetic dramas of Sikelianos, Cazantzakes, and Rotas. It must also be suggested that by excluding from the Introduction and the text many distinguished poets, both early and modern, Professor Trypanis has lessened the validity of his representation of Greek poetry. Some of the most apparent omissions are these: T. Agras, G. Athanas, R. Filyras, N. Lapathiotis, A. Melachrinos, C. Ouranis, A. Pallis, A. Provelengios, A. Semiriotis, C. Varnalis, P. Vlastos. Even S. Skipis does not appear, the only representative of modern Greek poetry in the Academy of Athens today! We recognize that the theory of selection in the forming of an anthology may be based upon the criteria of personal preference. Nevertheless, a mode of procedure involving nearly arbitrary literary eclecticism is inappropriate to a work compiled for use as a guide and text book in Universities.

The text (pp. 1-250) contains 218 poems and fragments of poems arranged chronologically according either to theme or style.

The text, however, has arbitrary orthography, and many misprints, all of which cannot be charged to the Clarendon Press.¹ Further, it is an untrue sense of economy which has induced the editor to omit two or three words constituting the refrain of poems 7 and 9, to print two verses in a single line in some cases, and to compress into a continuous text a poem created in stanzas (cf. 154, 206, 207 and 208).

The Bibliography (pp. 251-52) is too brief; the Glossary (pp. 275-82), both short and erratic. The Notes (pp. 253-74) are more detailed, but often inadequate nevertheless. It would be tedious to correct all the mistakes and to supply all the omissions. Let the following suffice: Although space is so precious that the editor is compelled to omit from the Notes important information, he nevertheless dwells on trivialities and introduces unnecessary repetitions of matters already treated in the Introduction. Further, it is certainly misleading to enter words in the Glossary just as they appear in the poetical texts, without indicating the basic grammatical forms by which they are customarily identified.

But despite all its shortcomings, this book provides adequate materials for the student who is beginning the study of later Greek poetry. It is to be hoped that in a second edition the mistakes will be removed and a translation of the poems added so that the *Anthology* may become a suitable companion of *The Oxford Book*

1. Some of them are corrected here (The first Arabic numeral is that of the poem, the second that of the line; the Latin numeral is that of the fragment, the Greek that of the stanza): 2, 5, ἀστέρων; 8, II, 27, ἐκ λαγόνων; 9, β', 9, ὄψη; 9, ιστ', 7, φασι; 9, κγ', 2, τὸν χορηγὸν τοῦ γάλαικος; (the text of the poem is entirely different in the standard editions of the Greek Orthodox Church; this is also true of others, especially 19); 10, 12, ἐξεγέθητι; 20, 63, εὐλαβοῦμαι; 58, 22, πεφιληκότων; 74, II, 26, τίς; 77, I, 7, 18, 22, and 23, πάντερνα; 77, I, 13, πάντερνον; 82, 67, ἐμπροστά της; 88, 10, βαρεῖ; 97, 15, τούρικα; 123, I, 25, χιλμιντριζεῖ; 130, III, 1, τὸν Θεὸν της; 139, 53, μειδιᾷ; 168, 17, ὄρη; 169, 64, χορῶντε; 207, 24, ἀνάμωσ' ἀπ' τὰ; 207, 46, στοῦ ποδοῦ σου. Also p. 263, ll. 2 and 35, Σύντομη; in the Glossary: διπολιτῆγανον, καμαροτιμαχίτης, οἰόδος. From this partial list, mistakes in punctuation, many instances of arbitrary and curious orthography (cf. 98, 2, τραγοῦδων; 108, 12, διαβῶν; 123, I, 14, ἡλαλιάν; and others because of euphonic ν), and other less important errors are omitted.

of Greek Verse. It is also hoped that interest in medieval and especially in modern Greek literature will increase and that a series of books (translations, studies, etc.) will appear in English so that a literature valuable intrinsically for its beauty, historically because it makes possible a more complete appreciation of the greater literature of ancient Greece, may become recognized and understood.

COSTAS M. PROUSSIS

Chicago, Illinois

The Athenian Expounders of the Sacred and Ancestral Law. By JAMES H. OLIVER. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1950. Pp. xii+179. \$5.00.

Professor Oliver has brought together the evidence, literary and epigraphical, relating to the Athenian *chresmologoi*, the *manteis*, and the various boards of *exegetai*; thus greatly increasing the material collected in P. Ehrmann's *De iuris sacri interpretibus Atticis* (Diss., 1908). Oliver concludes that the Athenian interpreters of the fifth century had no official capacity, that certain religious experts of eupatrid descent, serving as advisors, were called *chresmologoi* or *manteis* (p. 11). The two are indistinguishable. There were no *exegetai* at Athens in this period. Meanwhile at Eleusis (chap. ii) the exposition of the sacred law pertaining to the Eleusinian cult was exercised by the entire *genos* of the *Eumolpidai*. The Sicilian expedition, however, marked the end of the private *chresmologoi-manteis* (p. 30): "We never hear of their intervention at Athens again." Official *exegetai* were soon created; the one termed *pythochrestos*, after 403 B.C.; the one termed *exegetes* from the eupatrids after 383 but before 357 B.C. There was only one *pythochrestos* and only one *exegetes* from the eupatrids; the *exegetai* of the *Eumolpidai* became two in number (Oliver's arguments here are based largely on evidence from the Roman period). Concerning points of law, it is necessary to assume that two boards combined (p. 44).

The elaborate method of appointment laid down in Plato *Laws* 759 D is interpreted anew by Oliver, and this leads to a very interesting, but undocumented, reconstruction in chapter vi of the early history of Athens. Finally, Oliver treats with his customary authority the genealogies of leading Athenian families of the Imperial period and concludes with an informative chapter on how the Greek writers confused references to Roman priesthoods.

It must be emphasized that the evidence for the *exegetai* is very limited. Outside of Plato and the lexicographers, there are scarcely half-a-dozen references in literary documents (Oliver omits [Lysias] 6. 10 from his *testimonia* in the Appendix, Part I, although the passage is discussed on p. 18. Omitted, too, is the important passage in Andocides 1. 115-16, which does not contain the noun *exegetes*, but which does provide significant evidence concerning the right of *exegesis*). The most important passages come from the fourth century B.C. Very striking is the silence of fifth century comedy and history, and of Aristotle. Moreover, Jacoby (*Atthis*, p. 22) has argued with plausibility that books on constitutional law, available to later lexicographers, could not have contained much additional information. Where evidence is so scanty and fragmentary, conclusions are bound to be precarious. This lack of evidence will explain how two distinguished scholars, Oliver and Jacoby (*Atthis*, pp. 8-51), simultaneously collected the *testimonia* relating to the interpreters of the sacred law and arrived at conclusions which in many significant features are at variance. Difficulty arises even with reference to the meaning of the word *exegetes*. When in ancient texts does it mean an official *exegetes*, and when does it have a more general significance? Lampon is called an *exegetes* by Eupolis in 424 B.C. Jacoby (p. 255) regards Lampon as an official *pythochrestos-exegetes*; Oliver (p. 25) regards the appellation as a sort of nickname, as he does too in the passage in the scholia to Aristophanes, *Nubes* 332. (If the scholiast had the line from Eupolis, this,

surely, would have been enough to justify his annotation.)

Oliver identifies the *manteis* with the *chresmologoi* (see above) and then argues that the official *exegetes* supplanted the *chresmologoi-manteis* after the disappointing failure of the latter in the time of the Sicilian expedition (p. 30). But the *manteis* are referred to in Aristotle (*Ath. pol.* 54. 6), about ninety years after the expedition, in a context which shows that they co-operated in official sacrifices of the Demos. *Manteis*, then, continued to exist, and they did not lose all of their authority to the *exegetai*. The question is what, if any, authority did they lose. In the opinion of this reviewer, the only satisfactory solution to the problem of emergence and disappearance of authorities will be found, not in the emphasis on the chronology of the references in the literature, but in a study of the function of the various officials. This approach may explain, too, the silence of fifth century literature. This latter is essentially the method of Jacoby in chapter ii of *Atthis*, which unfortunately appeared too late to be used by Oliver. So far as a strict interpretation of the evidence allows, one may say that the *exegetai* had nothing to do with the keeping of oracles, or with divination. Their activity was purely ritualistic; they were concerned with purification, with the interpretation of Athenian *patria*, a definitely limited activity. There are no functions specifically mentioned in the literature as belonging to the *manteis* which *exegetai* need be assumed to have appropriated. Aristotle granted the *exegetai* no place in his description of the fourth century constitution; and since there is no evidence of any political activity on their part, the silence of comedy and of Thucydides (see Oliver, p. 25) cannot be used as an argument against their existence.

According to some restorations of *IG*, I², 77, maintenance at the public expense was proposed for the *exegetai* in the third quarter of the fifth century. Some form of the present participle of the verb ἐξήγεισθαί appears on the stone. Much of the sentence

is lost. Oliver now points out (p. 140) that the text should be punctuated after σίρειν in line 7, and a new category begun with καί. This will require a new restoration, which is particularly to be welcomed in the light of the extravagant interpretation which Jacoby has made on the basis of the old restored text. The document simply does not yield as "facts" the statements made by Jacoby on pages 25ff. of *Atthis*.

There is much learning and vigorous argument in this book. Oliver is to be congratulated on the clear and factual manner in which he has presented the evidence on a subject which permits only plausible conjecture. Several iota subscripts have dropped out of the Greek text, and on page 139 Oliver perpetuates an old error in giving the name of the orator of the decree as "(...) ikles." This should be corrected to "(...) ikles."

W. KENDRICK PRITCHETT

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Étude sur l'origine et l'évolution du diminutif latin et sa survie dans les langues romanes. By REINO HAKAMIES. ("Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae," Ser. B, Tom. 71, 1.) Helsinki, 1951. Pp. 148. Mk. 400.

Studies of Latin diminutives diminish not, neither in size nor in number, neither for the language as a whole nor for particular authors. The notion of "original" and "derivative" meaning dies hard. I do not see how a meaning can be more original than the appropriate context, and no context can possibly be a fixed quantity in any recorded language or in anything that we can imagine, but is as fluctuating and variable as all other linguistic units. Hakamies is quite safe in saying that for I. Eu. -lo-, -ko-, -ko-lo- indicate association, or resemblance "sans que se fasse sentir une idée de minoration ou d'affectivité"; but to suppose that such an idea never was involved is beyond any man's knowledge to assert. Hakamies is justified also when he compares *ancilla*, *puella*, *sacerdotula* and

the like, as feminine, with *gallina, regina* — (yet *κορακίνος* is “young raven,” and *suinus* adjectival merely); to which we may add *victor: uictrix*, cf. Pael. *pristajalacirix* “*praestabulatrix.” Again there are the *-lo-* words (e.g., *anulus*) which have displaced the simple form, at least in certain meanings.

Modern writers ignore entirely a sizeable group of verbs which, it used to be held, implied diminutives otherwise unrecorded, e.g., *eiulare, gesticulari, gratulari, opitulari, ambulare, uacillare*, among many others. Some of these are now analyzed differently (e.g. *amb-^o/l-*); *strangulare* is Greek; *uacillare* is no longer compared with *uacca*. But it would be well if someone would survey this entire group of verbs in order to find just which of them do disguise old *-lo-* derivatives. At all events, I am glad to learn from Hakamies (p. 76) that the **uitula* which I postulated in 1923 (*CP*, XVIII, 350–51), even from an *i*-stem, did actually exist, for it survives in two modern Italian dialects, viz. Treviglio (Lomb.) *bidola* and Bresc. *idol* “wild vine, creeper, clematis” (see Meyer-Lübke³, 9405a).

It was objected, at the time, by a disgruntled Scotsman then living in Oxford, that I was wrong in deriving *-lo-* forms from anything but *a*-stems and *o*-stems. However, Umbrian too has *funlire, fondlire*, and Latin has *fontulus* besides *fontis*, also an *i*-stem.

There is at least one special study of diminutives in Persius, but it is somewhat strange that Hakamies had no occasion to cite any of them. Words like *aqualiculus* (Pers. *S.* 1. 57) deserve at least mention.

The upshot is that generalization, both for Latin at all periods, and for Romance, is rash. Each word must be examined in its contexts — and this is virtually Hakamies' conclusion. He makes some useful classifications by categories such as names of persons, animals, parts of the body, names of plants, trees, fruits, clothing and so forth, and here it is possible to see common lines of development.

JOSHUA WHATMOUGH

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Prudence, Vol. IV: *Le livre des couronnes* (*Peristephanon*); *Dittochaëon*; *Épilogue*. Edited and translated by M. LAVARENNE. Paris: Société d'Édition “Les Belles Lettres,” 1951. Pp. 232+ double pages.

The Budé Prudentius is now complete, in four volumes, and Professor Lavarenne may be congratulated on the solid achievement of some twenty years of labor. The groundwork was laid in 1933, with the publication of his massive thesis (687 pp.) *Étude sur la langue du poète Prudence*, along with a complementary thesis, an edition of the *Psychomachia* with translation and commentary. In 1943, 1945, and 1948 appeared the first three volumes of the Budé text and translation. The last of these was reviewed in *CP*, XLV (1950), 127–29.

This fourth volume contains the fourteen hymns on the “crowns” of the martyrs (*Peristephanon*), the twenty-four quatrains on Biblical scenes known as the *Dittochaëon*, and the *Épilogue*, of 35 lines. The hymns range in length from 18 lines (Hymn 8) to 1140 (Hymn 10); twelve different meters are employed. The martyrs include the Spanish girl of twelve, Eulalia (who escaped by night from her parents' guard to race through miles of thorns and rocks and offer herself for martyrdom, spitting in the judge's face and breaking up idols for good measure) and the schoolmaster Cassian (whose little pupils got their vengeance for past scourgings by stabbing and cutting their teacher with the stylus). Along with these appear Cyprian, the venerable bishop of Carthage, and the apostles Peter and Paul. All alike were capable of uttering defiant speeches of tedious length while under torture. As in the earlier volumes Lavarenne translates with scrupulous care. The translation is always clear, while a footnote may point out the obscurity of the Latin; if there is no footnote one may consult the *Étude*, with fair assurance of finding a defense of Lavarenne's rendering.

The text is based on that of Bergman, printed in the *Vienna Corpus*. I have

counted ten passages in which the text is changed, usually to give an easier reading, though the changes are slight. In one passage (*Peristeph.* 2. 567) Lavarenne adopts his own conjectural emendation.

The notes are for the general reader, and are frequently very brief and elementary. Where room is lacking at the foot of the page they are printed at the end of the book. I cite a few examples: *Peristeph.* 1. 34: — *de César*: C'est-à-dire de l'Empereur (quel que fut son nom); 2. 528: — *Claudia*: Les Claudii étaient une des plus illustres familles de Rome; 3. 69: — *prosterner devant des pierres polies*: Les idoles; 10. 538: — *la sphère qui mesure les mois*: Périphrase qui désigne la lune. Will this book be read by people who need such notes? On 1. 46 where *bacae* are "links" of a chain, the note says, "Ce sens de *baca* ne se trouve que chez Prudence." But *TLL*, II, 1658, 44-49 cites a number of examples from other authors.

The book has no indexes of any sort; for these the student must still consult the edition of Bergman. But surely many will use this edition without having the older one at hand. Furthermore, in his *apparatus* of citations Lavarenne gives many references to Biblical and other sources not found in Bergman; these, it seems, would have justified the preparation of a new index.

WILLIAM M. GREEN

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Die tragische Orchestik im Zerrbild der altattischen Komödie. By ERVIN ROOS. Lund: Gleerup, 1951. Pp. 303+34 ill. in text. 20 kr. (Paper.)

This book deals with the dancing of Philokleon in the Exodos of the "Wasps" of Aristophanes. Four opinions have been held: that Philokleon parodied the old tragic dances of Thespis and Phrynichos; that he parodied newer tragic dances of Euripides and Karkinos; that he danced the Kordax, the proper dance of comedy; that he danced the Sikinnis, the proper

dance of satyr-plays. Roos scrutinizes the evidence for Philokleon's dance and for the four supposed models, and reaches the conclusion that all four opinions are wrong: the old gentleman danced in the manner of courtesans and drunken revellers, bringing this kind of dance into the theater for the first time as an expression of Aristophanes' protest against the declining character of tragic dancing.

The author's use of archeological material is not very satisfactory; adequate modern citations are seldom given, and the range of examples could certainly be much greater, though perhaps with little advantage to his thesis. The literary evidence is much more fully utilized and examined with great minuteness. The argument and conclusions seem generally reasonable, and the book is unquestionably important for the study of Greek dances, as well as for the understanding of a notable comedy. A point that has probably escaped some scholars: "eine Dame namens Pat Smylie [set a world's record] mit einem εκλάκτισμα nach vorn von beinahe 2¹/₂ Metern."

F. P. JOHNSON

University of Chicago

Padova Romana. By CESIRA GASPAROTTO. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1951. Pp. 191+74 figs.+9 plans.

This book comprises four parts: "Storia" (pp. 9-78), "L'Oppidum Patavium" (pp. 79-132), "Il territorio di Patavium" (pp. 133-58), and "Primizie del Cristianesimo in Patavium" (pp. 159-72); there is also a conclusion in two pages, "L'eredità di Patavium." The parts are divided into chapters; under "Storia" the chapters are "Il periodo premunicipale," "Il periodo romano," "Vita di Patavium municipium romanum," "Tito Livio." The chapters are further divided, and the headings under the first chapter may be given: "Il nome," "La leggenda e l'origine di Patavium," "Patavium veneta," "Patavium civitas foederata." At the end of each chapter are notes, and there is a bibliography that occupies pages 175-93.

The remains of the Roman period, not very abundant or very fascinating to the ignorant, are described in the second part as fully as any one could expect. Objects of the earlier periods, though fairly well represented in the illustrations, receive in the text a cursory treatment which is slightly amplified in the notes. The copious bibliography indicates that the author is widely acquainted with the Italian writings relevant to her subject, but her use of writings in other languages has perhaps not always been favored by circumstances. For example, Ida Carleton Thallon appears as "Carletton, Thallon J." And though the *Patavinitas* of Livy is discussed at some length and interpreted as a type of ethical character, several notes on it are not mentioned (*CP*, XXXVIII [1943], 205, with further references).

The story of the town, which succeeded Ateste as the principal center in its region and was itself succeeded by Venice, is pleasantly told, and the illustrations add to the value of the book.

F. P. JOHNSON

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Um Arminius: Biographie oder Legende?

By ERNST HOHL. (*Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Klasse für Gesellschaftswissenschaften, No. 1 [1951].) Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1951. Pp. 27. DM 2.10.

Professor Hohl here elaborates his theory that Arminius, from 1 B.C. to A.D. 6, had the same military career as Velleius Paterculus, who describes Arminius as *adsiduus militiae nostrae prioris comes* (2. 118. 2). *Militia*, Hohl maintains, here means "military career," not "campaign," and *nostrae* refers to Velleius, not the Romans. Velleius divided his *militia* into an earlier equestrian and later senatorial phase; the first he designates *militia equestris* (2. 111. 3). The *militia prior* of Velleius thus equals his *militia equestris*, and during this period Arminius was his *adsiduus comes*. On this foundation a biography of Arminius may

be reconstructed: Born the same year, Arminius and Velleius entered the Roman army together. As tribunes they served together during the Armenian campaign of Gaius Caesar, and as *praefecti equitum* in the German campaign of Tiberius (A.D. 4-6). Arminius, who was a Roman citizen and knight (Velleius 2. 118. 2), may have held the franchise in the second generation, his father, Segimer, having perhaps received the grant from Augustus in 8 B.C. Arminius, then eleven years old, may have been sent as a hostage to Rome to be indoctrinated in the palace school for his intended career as a Roman officer. In this polemic directed against his principal critic Professor Hohl ably defends his striking and attractive thesis.

J. A. McGEACHY, JR.

Davidson College

Studi di storia della storiografia greca. By GAETANO DE SANCTIS. Firenze: "La Nuova Italia," Editrice, 1951. Pp. 196+ frontispiece. L. 750.

In 1892 Gaetano De Sanctis published the first study, on the newly discovered Athenian Constitution of Aristotle, of a long and distinguished series of articles, books, and reviews on Greek and Roman history. This present volume, with preface by Arnaldo Momigliano, is a tribute of students and colleagues to his eighty years of life and to his fiftieth anniversary as professor. It consists of reprints of his well-known studies on various problems of Greek historiography — the rationalism of Hecataeus, the composition of Herodotus' history, the Thucydidean problems of the Melian dialogue, the treaties between Sparta and Persia, and of the oligarchy of 411, and, finally, of the genesis of Xenophon's *Hellenica*. Appropriately enough, the appendix is "La battaglia di Notion" in which the distinguished historian contrasts the treatments of Meyer, Busolt, Beloch, and Ferrabino, as well as those of the original sources.

Thus fittingly arranged as a series on

Greek historiography, the volume is completed by a bibliography of De Sanctis' writings. The studies, now conveniently collected, will continue to serve students of Greek and Roman history, for whom Professor De Sanctis has done so much in the course of his long career.

CARL ROEBUCK

Northwestern University

A History of the Roman World from 753 to 146 B.C. By HOWARD H. SCULLARD. 2d ed. rev. ("Methuen's History of the Greek and Roman World," Vol. IV.) London: Methuen and Co., 1951. Pp. xiv+470+4 maps. 32s.6d.

Mr. Scullard has succeeded in the somewhat difficult task of revising his history within the form and relative space allotted to individual sections in the first edition, published in 1935. The second edition not only corrects errors of the first, notices important studies of the intervening years, but has been rewritten, at times extensively, to present new material and new interpretations. Thus, it supersedes the first edition. The number of pages has been cut from 504 to 470 by a resetting of the type which is placed closer and takes up more of the page. Despite this it is not difficult to read. Space was found for some new material: Appendix 3, "The Early Constitution" notices the recent treat-

ments of that perennial problem although it does not discuss them and Scullard has wisely preferred not to follow their more speculative theories in his text; Appendix 10, "Rome and the Autonomy of Greek Cities," discusses briefly the meaning of "freedom" in this context; Appendix 9, "The Causes of the Second Macedonian War" replaces the "Appeal of Athens to Rome" of the first edition. In it Scullard sensibly rejects Wason's view (*Class Struggles in Ancient Greece*) that Rome entered upon the Second Macedonian War to prevent the social unrest in Greece from spreading to Italy. Two useful additions are a list of the more important original sources added to Appendix 1 and a map of Central Italy. The most perceptible effect of new work seems to be in the chapters on early Italy and Rome where due notice has been taken of excavation and archaeological publication; new, too, but hardly unexpected, is the statement (p. 326) that family groups formed the basis of Roman public life, whereas in the first edition we read, "although the theory has often been exaggerated it is impossible to dismiss it entirely" (p. 355). Scullard, himself, of course, has contributed a valuable study to the middle Republic in his *Roman Politics, 220-150 B.C.* which analyzed the internal political struggles in detail for that period.

CARL ROEBUCK

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BOOKS RECEIVED

[Not all works submitted can be reviewed, but those that are sent to the editorial office for notice are regularly listed under "Books Received." Offprints from periodicals and parts of books will not be listed unless they are published (sold) separately. Books submitted are not returnable.]

- ALLAN, D. J. *The Philosophy of Aristotle*. ("The Home University Library," No. 222.) London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1952. Pp. vi + 220. \$2.00.
- BANTA, FRANK G. *Abweichende spät- und vulgärlateinische Perfektbildungen*. (Dissertation, University of Bern.) Freiburg in der Schweiz: Paulusdruckerei, 1952. Pp. xiv + 124.
- BARTELINK, G. J. M. *Lexicologisch-Semantische Studie over de Taal van de Apostolische Vaders: Bijdrage tot de Studie van de Groeptaal der Griekse Christenen*. (Dissertation, University of Bern.) Utrecht: J. L. Beijers [1952]. Pp. xvi + 170. Fl. 6.50.
- BIELER, LUDWIG (ed.). *Libri Epistolarum Sancti Patricii Episcopi*, Part. I: *Introduction and Text*. ("Irish Manuscripts Commission.") Dublin: Stationery Office, 1952. Pp. 150. 21s.
- BLAIKLOCK, E. M. *The Male Characters of Euripides: A Study in Realism*. Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1952. Pp. xvi + 267. 35s.
- BOAS, MARCUS. *Disticha Catonis: recensuit et apparatu critico instruxit. opus post Marci Boas mortem edendum curavit Henricus Johannes Botschuyver*. Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1952. Pp. lxxxiv + 303 + 2 pls. \$10.75 (cloth).
- CASTORINA, EMANUELE. *L'Atticismo nell'Evoluzione del Pensiero di Cicerone*. Catania: Cav. Niccolo Giannotta Editore. Pp. 302. L. 1000.
- CHRIMES, K. M. T. *Ancient Sparta: A Re-examination of the Evidence*. New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1952. Pp. xv + 527 + 9 pls. + 1 map. \$8.75. Reviewed in *CP*, XLVI (1951), 184-88.
- CLOCHÉ, PAUL. *Thèses de Bétotie, des origines à la conquête romaine*, Vol. I. ("Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de Namur," Sér. 1, Fasc. 13.) Namur: Publications des Facultés Universitaires [1952]. Pp. 289 + map. Fr. 150.
- CORBATO, CARLO. *Studi Senofaneï, I: Senofane eleate? II: Il pensiero di Senofane*. (Reprinted from "Annali Triestini," Vol. XXII [1952], Sez. 1^a.) Trieste: Università di Trieste, 1952. Pp. 72.
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